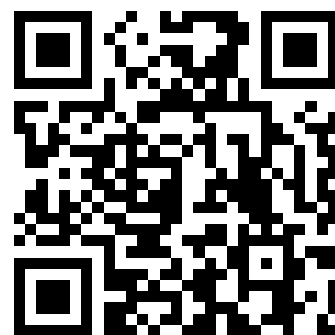


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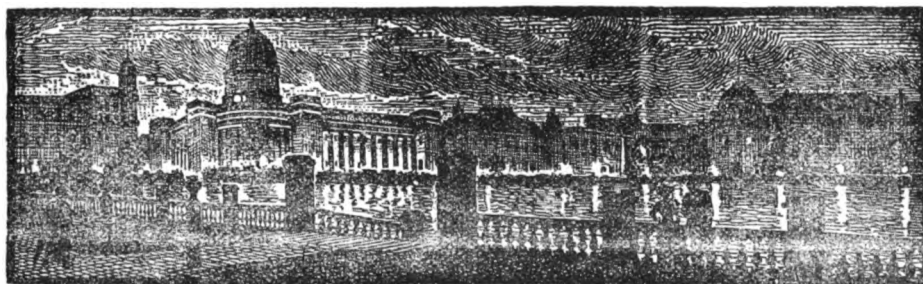
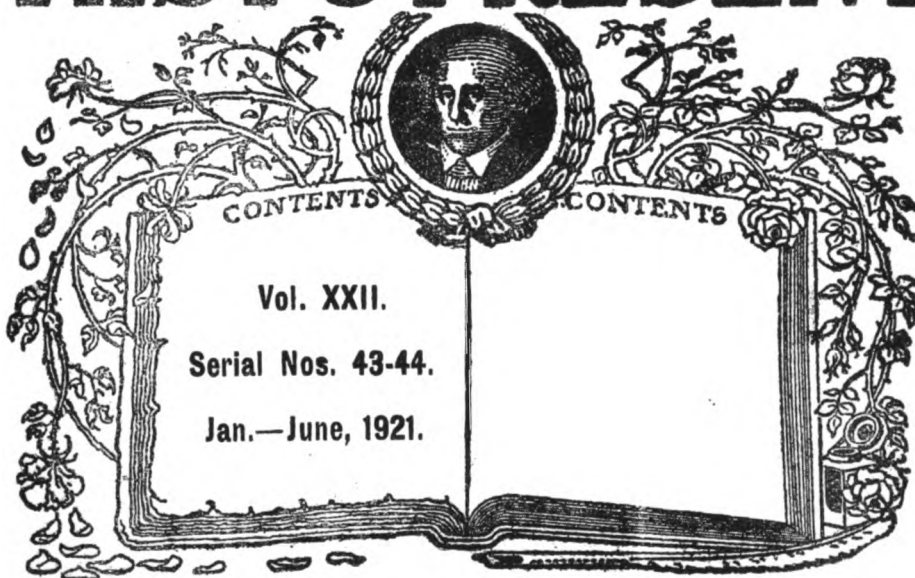








# BENGAL PAST & PRESENT



JOURNAL OF THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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# The House of Jagatseth II.

COMPILED BY LATE MR. J. H. LITTLE, B.A.

*Headmaster of the Nawab Bahadur's Institution, Murshidabad, Bengal.*

*(Continued from page 200 of Vol. XX.)*

At the end of the year Alivardi Khan left Murshidabad to subdue Orissa which was held by one of Sarfaraz Khan's officers named Murshid Kuli Khan and was absent during the whole of 1741 and part of 1742. In the beginning of 1742 Haji Ahmad, who had been left in charge of the government at Murshidabad, was quarrelling with the English on the ground that they were carrying on an illegal trade in salt. "The English," he said to their wakil, "traded with much greater advantage than even the King's own subjects it was therefore shameful in them to peddle in the few things left for the natives; besides salt was reserved for the Nabob's own profit and we had several times experienced during his (Haji Ahmad's) ministry that a trade therein would not be suffered." The English wakil contended that if any of the Company's servants or soldiers had engaged in the trade in salt they had done so in a clandestine manner but the Company itself had no cognisance of the matter. Haji Ahmad refused to believe him and during the whole interview was in such a passion that the wakil was soon reduced to silence.

When the news of this reached Calcutta the Council met on the 1st February and resolved to send letters through the President to Haji Ahmad and Jagat Seth Fateh Chand which they hoped would have a good effect in accommodating the affair. They hoped much from Fateh Chand. "If he is pleased to use his good offices," they said, "we flatter ourselves Hadjee may be brought into better temper by his means." Their hopes were justified. On the 22nd February the English at Cassimbazar wrote "Through the means and interest of Futtichund the salt affair is finished. He has engaged to Hadjee Hamet that the English will not in future give umbrage to the government by a traffic of this kind." They forwarded a copy of Haji Ahmad's perwanna to the governor of Rajmahal ordering him not to molest the owners of the salt in dispute and recommended that these people should reimburse the Company for the cost of the perwanna which had amounted to Rs. 12,000 paid to Haji Ahmad and Rs. 1193 to officers at the Durbar. "They think themselves very fortunate," they added, "to finish this affair for such a sum which is wholly

owing to Futtichund's good offices and the Nabob being at so great a distance."<sup>220</sup>

In March 1741 the Company gave a note of hand to Jagat Seth Fateh Chand and Seth Anand Chand for Rs. 150,000. In November they paid off Rs. 50,000 of this and in March 1742 Jagat Seth's gomastah at Calcutta asked that the interest on this account might be made up and paid to him. The interest, calculated up to the 21st March, amounted to Rs. 12,000 and this sum was paid to Jagat Seth's gomastah on the 29th. At the same time a new note of hand for the balance of Rs. 100,000, payable on demand, and to carry interest at the rate of nine per cent. per annum, was given by the Company to, Jagat Seth Fateh Chand and Seth Anand Chand.

On the same date the name of Seth Mahtab Rai, the son of Seth Anand Chand, appears in the records for the first time. Besides the note of hand for Rs. 100,000 mentioned above the Company's servants signed two other notes of hand, one for Rs. 110,000 and the other for Rs. 100,000, both payable to Jagat Seth Fateh Chand and Seth Anand Chand, and an additional note for Rs. 90,000 payable to Seth Mahtab Rai. The latter had now taken his father's place in the firm which, however, as late as 1750 when Fateh Chand had been dead six years, still figures in the records as the house of Jagat Seth Fateh Chand and Seth Anand Chand.<sup>221</sup>

However the English did not use any one title consistently as the designation of the firm but Jagat Seth Fateh Chand and Seth Anand Chand, Jagat Seth Futtichund alone or Seth Mahtab Rai were all used indifferently. In fact when the four transactions mentioned above were settled the note of hand for Rs. 90,000 is ascribed to Jagat Seth Fateh Chand and one for Rs. 100,000 to Seth Mahtab Rai as the following extract from the Consultations dated the 15th November, 1742 shows "The President now laid before the Board the following Interest notes paid off pursuant to Order of Council the 8th Instant and They were now Cancelled at the Board.

To Juggatseat Futtichund—Dated 21st March, 1741-2.

Principal	...	...	100,000
Interest to 8th November 7 mos. 18 days			
at 9 p.c. P. ann.	...	...	5,700
			<hr/>
			105,700
Batta 15½ P. Cent.	...		16,383"8

122083"8

220. Bengal Consultations, 1st February, 1741-42; 27th February, 1741-42.

221. Bengal Consultation, 29th March, 1742.



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To Jaggatseat Futtichund—Dated 26th March, 1741-2.

Principal	...	...	90000
Interest to do. 7 mos 13 das at Do.			3017"8

---

 95017"8

Batta 15½ P. Ct.	..		14727"10"6
------------------	----	--	------------

109745"2"6

## To Juggatseat Futtichund and Anunchund dated do.

Principal	...	...	110,000
Interest, to do. 7 mos 13 das at Do.	...	...	6,132"8

---

 116,132"8"

Batta 15½ P. Cent.	...	...	18,000"8"9
--------------------	-----	-----	------------

134133"-9

## To Seat Moubatry—dated ditto.

Principal	...	...	100000
Interest to do. 7 mos 13 das at Do.	...	...	5575

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 105575

Batta 15½ P. Cent.	...	...	16364"2"-
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121939"2"-

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 487900"13"3

A troublous period now befell the inhabitants of Bengal. In March 1742 reports began to reach Murshidabad that the Mahrattas had entered the province and were making their way to Birbhum. By the 3rd April people began to notice that Haji Ahmad and Jagat Seth Fateh Chand were extremely busy—the former in taking measures for the defence of the city and the latter in making preparations for sending away his family and treasure. The next day it transpired that Jagat Seth had received a letter from the raja of the invaded district announcing that he had fled to Birbhum from before the face of a force of upwards of 80,000 Mahratta horse who were plundering every place they came to and holding up the principal inhabitants to ransom. Day by day the news became more alarming. Calcutta was being put into a state of defence, the Mahrattas had reached Birbhum plundering and burning every town they passed and were marching on to Murshidabad. By the end of April there was not a merchant or man of note left at Murshidabad or Cassimbazar except those connected with the government. Jagat Seth and the officers of the durbar had sent away their families which, the English at Cassimbazar declared, "looks as if things did not go right." 207 boats arrived at Calcutta and the report was

spread abroad "of vast sum of money being imported by them." Fifteen bags of rupees belonging to Jagat Seth undoubtedly arrived in the city at this time.<sup>222</sup>

Ominous reports began to be circulated about Alivardi Khan and his army who were marching back from Orissa and were said to have reached Burdwan where the Nawab had been forced to entrench himself strongly. Haji Ahmad marched from Murshidabad with a reinforcement of 3,000 men but got no further than Cutwa and had to return for the Mahrattas were in strong force between Cutwa and Burdwan. They had invested the Nawab's camp, cut him off from all supplies of provisions and skirmishes were of daily occurrence between the two armies. Alivardi Khan managed to get a letter through to Haji Ahmad informing the latter that he was surrounded by the enemy who had demanded a krur of rupees as the price of their withdrawal but he stoutly declared "they shall have nothing from me." At length the Nawab attempted to force a passage through the Mahratta army and this brought on a general battle in which numbers fell on both sides but the Nawab succeeded in forcing his way through with about 3,500 horse. "On the 4th May, at night, Hadjee received a letter from the camp which he immediately carried into his private apartment and communicated it only to Futtichund and one or two more contrary to his usual custom." The English wakil was able to send the purport of this letter to his employers from which they could see "the condition the Nabob and his army are in." This, indeed, was almost desperate. The Mahrattas were on his flanks and rear, his army was destitute of provisions but in spite of every obstacle he conducted a notable and successful retreat as far as Cutwa. Here he was in comparative safety for the river was open to him and reinforcements and supplies of provisions could reach him.<sup>223</sup>

The rainy season was now approaching when the Mahrattas would be forced to retire but before retreating a renegade, named Mir Habib, promised the Mahratta general that if he would lend him a body of horse, he would bring him money enough to satisfy all his wishes. Eluding Alivardi Khan and his army he suddenly swooped down on Murshidabad, plundered the house of Jagat Seth "which they seemed to single out,"<sup>224</sup> and carried away two krors of rupees besides a quantity of other goods. The translator of the Seir Mutaqherin was struck with the remarkable fact that this huge sum was all in rupees struck at Arcot and therefore but a fraction of Fateh Chand's wealth and adds "so amazing a loss which would distress any monarch in Europe, affected him so little,

222. Bengal Consultations, 29th March, 1742; 5th April, 1742; 20th April, 1742; 22nd April, 1742; 26th April, 1742.

223. Bengal Consultations, 26th April, 28th April, 3rd May, 12th May, 1742.

224. Bengal Consultation, 27th May, 1742.

that he continued to give government bills of exchange at sight of full one coror at a time : and the fact is too notorious in Bengal to need any proof."

A far heavier blow in the estimation of Jagat Seth followed. The Mahrattas were enemies and their raid was one of the ordinary risks of war but after they had departed, either some of the Nawab's or Haji Ahmad's mercenaries plundered his house again and carried off what the Mahrattas had left. Therefore, although there was nothing more to fear from the Mahrattas for at least four months, Jagat Seth Fateh Chand fled from Murshidabad taking his two grandsons with him. The Nawab sent officers to recall him but he refused to return and went on to Dacca. "How can I be in safety," he reasoned, "when there is no kind of government in the city" ? Fateh Chand's arrival at Dacca on the 29th May produced such a panic in that place that had not the Diwan taken careful precautions not a person of any note would have remained in the city.<sup>225</sup>

The condition of affairs at Murshidabad on the 7th June may be seen in the following extracts from a letter received by the President and Council from Cassimbazar :—

"They are concerned to tell us that as yet none of their merchants who engaged for the silk piece Goods are returned or any of the weavers to their abodes all the towns where most of those goods were made being destroyed and the weavers' looms burned with their houses. . . . In an aresdast to the Nabob and Hadjee Hamet they have represented the great loss and disappointment they have already suffered in their business and which must vastly encrease unless authority be used to oblige their merchants to come and finish the contracts made but they fear the success of this petition for unless Juggatseat can be persuaded to return they believe few or none of the merchants will think it safe to do it his conduct being the general guide to all of them. They hear of his arrival at Dacca and pretending sickness to all the Nabob's messengers who on the 6th dispatched the Cozzee<sup>226</sup> of Muxcidavad to entreat him to come back his presence being as necessary to the Government as to the merchants. The Nabob and Hadjee have not seen one another for a week past and several presents sent by the former have been returned. It's said this difference was occasioned by some reflections the Nabob threw on the other's suffering the Morattoes to burn and plunder his camp and Juggatseat's house when he had twice their number. . . . Some imagine this a political quarrel but be it so or not their interest will not let it last long."<sup>227</sup>

A week later Jagat Seth returned to Murshidabad accompanied by most of the merchants but he left his two grandsons, Seth Mahtab Rai and Swarup

225. Bengal Consultations, 3rd June, 1742 ; 7th June, 1742.

226. Kazi judge.

227. Bengal Consultation, 10th June, 1742.



Chand at Dacca. The aspect of affairs at Murshidabad did not tend to restore his confidence and he seemed anxious to place his hoards of wealth in safe hands. On the one hand he pressed the English at Cassimbazar to take a loan from him for the use of that factory and offered bills for Patna and Dacca if any money was wanted there. On the other hand he absolutely refused to buy bullion. When the English at Cassimbazar asked him whether he would do so his reply was "No, for what use could I make of bullion when no mint business goes forward. Nor can I know how to send what money I have clear away therefore want no new incumbrances." On July 12th the Council sent for Jagat Seth's gomastah at Hugli who happened to be in Calcutta at the time and used every possible argument to persuade him to buy bullion at that place but he was deaf to all their arguments assuring the Council that he had orders from his masters not to meddle with any bullion and that similar orders had been sent to Jagat Seth's gomastahs at Dacca and other places.<sup>228</sup>

Matters got worse instead of better. Contrary to expectation the Mahrattas did not leave the province for the rainy season and their raiders penetrated to the neighbourhood of Murshidabad itself. The Nawab gathered large forces to cope with the invaders but his soldiers were as troublesome as the Mahrattas to the peaceful inhabitants of the province. They plundered everything they could lay their hands on and their victims were without redress. When the English at Cassimbazar complained to the Nawab of the many robberies committed near their factory he seemed heartily ashamed of them but did not care to venture on severe methods; on the contrary he was obliged to wink at the disorders of his soldiers lest they should desert him. Not the least of the Nawab's difficulties from this time was to satisfy the demands of his soldiers for their pay and to keep them under some sort of control. Under these circumstances it is not surprising to find that on the 10th July the Company's servants at Cassimbazar wrote to the Council "The 8th at night Juggatseat left Muxcidavad and several of their merchants have left Cassimbuzar and they fear many more will follow."<sup>229</sup>

A few days after Jagat Seth's return to Dacca the English at Cassimbazar borrowed a lak of rupees from him "he not caring to lend a less sum." In August when the Company's servants at Dacca inquired of Jagat Seth the terms on which he would lend them money he replied that he was ready to lend them any sum they pleased at nine per cent. They thought the terms too high at such a time and referred the matter to the Council at Calcutta who ordered them not to advance any more money for goods and this rendered borrowing unnecessary. However, in October they borrowed Rs. 40,000 of Jagat Seth at

228. Bengal Consultations, 18th June, 21st June; 5th July, 12th July, 1742.

229. Bengal Consultations, 19th July, 1742; 9th September, 1742.

nine per cent. During his stay at Dacca Jagat Seth was able to do a service to the Company's servants at that place. Their boats had been stopped and their people ill-treated but when they applied to Jagat Seth for help he procured for them an order from the local Nawab directing that their boats should pass in future without molestation.<sup>230</sup>

In September the President had again written to Jagat Seth pressing him to buy the bullion sent out from England but once more Jagat Seth absolutely refused to purchase it while the troubles lasted. In November the President was more successful as the following resolution of the Council shows:—

“ Being largely in Debt to Futtichund who has at length by Frequent Letters and Entreatys been prevailed on to take bullion in payment thereof at the same price as our Merchants have usually done only insisting that it should be exactly weighed off to him against Sicca Rupees as Customary at Cossimbuzar and not to take the same at 9325 Sicca weight per each Chest which the Merchants do That being settled for the medium weight in President Hedges time

Agreed That We discharge our Debt to Futtichund in Bullion on those terms.

Ordered That Fifty four Chests Bullion be taken out of the Treasury and delivered to the President for this purpose.”<sup>231</sup>

The particulars of this transaction have been recorded on a preceding page.

The date of Jagat Seth's return to Murshidabad is uncertain. At the end of September Alivardi Khan had gained a great victory over the Mahrattas and chased them out of the province. In October both the Nawab and Haji Ahmad had written to Jagat Seth asking him to return and “ hoped he would.” In all probability he did so in November.<sup>232</sup>

On January 23rd 1743 the Company's servants at Dacca requested the the Council to send them three laks of rupees “ to discharge their interest notes to Juggatseat who demands the same or to have the notes renewed as he closes his books in March as usual.” On the 2nd February they asked for permission to borrow a further sum of money from Jagat Seth to carry on their trade. The Council replied to both letters on the 10th stating that they were preparing to send a lak of rupees to Dacca to enable the Company's servants there to carry on their trade but “ not being in cash ” they were unable to send sufficient to discharge their debt to Jagat Seth. They therefore authorised the renewal of the notes if Jagat Seth's people insisted on it but would prefer the notes to run on without renewal until money could be sent to pay them off. The merchants

230. Bengal Consultations 29th July, 23rd August, 30th August, 13th October, 8th November, 1742.

231. Bengal Consultation, 8th November, 1742.

232. Bengal Consultations, 4th October, 19th October, 1742.

at Dacca thought the latter course would be impossible as Jagat Seth insisted on all notes being either renewed or discharged when he balanced up his books in March. They informed the Council also they had been unable to wait for the lak of rupees and had borrowed the sum from Jagat Seth. At the end of the month they borrowed Rs. 60,000 more.<sup>233</sup>

On the same day the Company was brought into connection with Jagat Seth under another aspect—that of a minister of Alivardi Khan. The Nawab had just brought an expedition against Orissa to a successful conclusion and it was decided that the President should send a congratulatory arzdest to him on his return to Murshidabad with letters to Haji Ahmad and Fateh Chand on that occasion.<sup>234</sup>

In 1743 two bands of Mahrattas invaded Bengal—one from Patna and the other from the south. Murshidabad was again thrown into the utmost confusion and many of the inhabitants fled. Jagat Seth sent all his effects to Dacca and followed himself a day or two after. The Nawab and Haji Ahmad also sent off all their treasure to Dacca. Alivardi Khan faced the situation with his customary resolution and after buying off one party drove the other out of the province. The payment to the Mahrattas and the necessities of his own soldiers reduced the Nawab to the greatest straits for money and he began to fleece his people on all sides. Jagat Seth himself did not escape though what the Nawab had from him was not known.<sup>235</sup>

In August of this year occurred the second of the only two serious disputes that ever disturbed the friendly relations between Jagat Seth Fateh Chand and the English and as in the former case, neither party was much in fault. It arose out of the twofold nature of the trade in which the Company's servants were engaged. On the one hand they were trading for the benefit of the Company and on the other hand they were engaged in transactions for their own personal profit. This private trade was, of course, sanctioned by the Company and if the system had been equally understood at Murshidabad no harm, at least of the nature under consideration, would have resulted. But such was not the case. Indeed, up to this time it had always been the practice of the Company's servants to represent at the Durbar that all the trade was carried on

233. Bengal Consultations, 10th February, 1742-3; 18th February, 1742-3; 6th March, 1742-3.

234. Bengal Consultation, 10th February, 1742-3.

235. Bengal Consultations, 21st March, 1742-3; 7th April, 1743; 15th August, 1743.

Jagat Seth had returned by August, in fact his presence was indispensable. "It is wholly impracticable to raise money there (Cassimbazar)" wrote the Company's servants on the 6th June, "for never was so great a scarcity occasioned by the retreat of Futtichund and all the wealthy men towards Dacca." Bengal Consultations, 10th June, 1743. The Council notes on the 22nd August, "we observe the Nabob is endeavouring to reimburse himself some part of the great expense he has been at by fleecing Futtichund."

for the Company's benefit only and to deny that there was any kind of trade apart from that.<sup>236</sup> Therefore when Fateh Chand lent money to Sir Francis Russell, the chief of the Cassimbazar factory, he naturally, after the latter's death, claimed the money from the Company. Sir Francis Russell had, however, borrowed the money for his own private trade and so the President and Council did not consider themselves responsible for the debt.

On the 11th August John Forster, the chief of the factory at Cassimbazar, advised the Council "that Futtichund sent his Gomastah to the Chief with an interest note of Sir Francis Russell's for twenty five thousand sicca rupees and demanded payment thereof from the Company. The Chief answered him that the Mayor's Court of Calcutta had appointed some of their body to administer Sir Francis Russell's effects who were now engaged in collecting them which when done there would be an equal distribution made among all his creditors. Futtichund's Gomastah replied that his master knew nobody but the Company that he had sent the money into that factory and expected to receive it back from thence that he had served the Company on many occasions and would still continue his good offices if they did not give him cause to act otherwise that there were two ways of transacting this affair one by paying him with a good grace and thereby retaining his friendship or else by a refusal to oblige him to have recourse to methods that would be disagreeable to him and would break off all correspondence with them. The Chief told him that he would acquaint us with his demand and let him know our answer.

We will perceive by this discourse of the gomastah that Futtichund seems determined to have the money at all hazards and we are well acquainted with the great influence he has with the Government and as times are that they are fleeing on all sides and would doubtless be glad of a pretence to attack them it may be of the worst consequence to disoblige him but they refer it to our consideration and hope to have our orders thereon."

The Council held three meetings to consider the matter the upshot of which was that the Company's servants at Cassimbazar were directed to try and induce Fateh Chand to accept a compromise but if that were impossible to finish the affair on the best terms they could.

On the 11th September the Chief and Council at Cassimbazar reported that they had concluded the affair. "On the 8th," they wrote, "Futtichund's

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236. Sir Francis Russell owed money to other merchants who complained to the Nawab and Chainray was told to inquire into the matter. On this the English at Cassimbazar wrote "We apprehend the discussion thereof before Chainray will necessarily show that there is a trade carried on by the Hon'ble Company's Servants besides what is done on the Company's account which is what has been always denied at the Durbar where all the English trade is represented to be on the Company's account and they fear a conviction of the contrary may be attended with ill consequences" (Bengal Consultations 10th May, 1744).

gomastah came to the factory and again demanded the debt due from Sir Francis Russell. They represented to him that Sir Francis Russell's effects would be insufficient to answer his debt and used their utmost endeavours to persuade him to accept of a composition but he would on no account agree to it. The most they could bring him to was to accept of the principal sum of 25,000 siccas and to forego the interest that was due thereon being upwards of 3,500 siccas. They desired him to represent their request to his master and to get him to accept of 15,000 siccas which they were willing to pay to retain his friendship. On the 10th Futtichund sent again to them and desired they would finish the affair without further scruples for that he would not take anything less than principal. As we recommended to them to end that affair on the best terms they could and as it appears to them to be for the Company's interest to keep Futtichund in good temper they thought proper to dispute with him no longer and have therefore given him an interest note dated the 10th inst. for 25,000 siccas at 9 per cent. per annum on account of the Hon'ble Company and have received from him Sir Francis Russell's interest note for that sum of which they hope to have our approval. On their finishing that affair he seemed well pleased and sent back his gomastah to tell them that he hoped the mint would be opened after the Dusseray<sup>237</sup> and then he would let them know what quantity of silver they should send for."<sup>238</sup>

Omitting all further references to the commercial transactions between Fateh Chand and the English—to loans, payments of interest, repayment of loans and purchase of dollar silver—the Bengal records relate two more incidents in the life of Fateh Chand in one of which he appears again as the mediator between the Nawab and the English and in the other as the Nawab's confidential minister.

In 1744 the Mahrattas again invaded Bengal but on this occasion Alivardi Khan delivered the province from their ravages by the treacherous massacre of their general and officers to which allusion has been made on a preceding page. He had still however, to satisfy his own troops and driven by their importunate demands for money and not, it is fair to add, acting from inclination, he began to fleece everybody, high and low, merchants, rajas and even his own relations. From the Europeans he demanded two months' pay for his army which meant a sum of 30 lakhs and threatened to stop their trade if they did not comply with his demands.<sup>239</sup>

237. "Skt. dasahara, the "nine-nights" (or ten days) festival in October, also called Durga-puja." (Hobson-Jobson, p. 333).

238. Bengal Consultations, 22nd August, 26th August, 30th August, 19th September, 1743.

239. Bengal Consultations, 12th July, 1744.

The English sent their vakil to Fateh Chand to enquire why the Nawab had attacked them in this violent manner and to ask what he would advise them to do under the circumstances. He replied "At present there is no government; they fear neither God nor the King but seem determined to force money from everybody; I myself have suffered greatly by them; He advised them to write to the Council at Calcutta and by all means to get a speedy and satisfactory answer from them to the Nabob's demand and that they ought to make up matters with him in the quickest manner for delay would make their case worse." He promised that when they had got an answer from the Council he and Chainray would join in representing their case to the Nawab in a most favourable manner.

On the 10th July the English vakil was taken into the presence of the Nawab "who was sitting with his officers about him." The Nawab declared that when the English obtained their farman from the Emperor Farrukhsiyar they had only four or five ships but since that time their trade had vastly increased and he had received orders from the reigning Emperor to oblige them to pay duty on that increase for many years past—orders which he intended to obey. He reminded the vakil that he had formerly had occasion to complain of the assistance the English had given to the Mahrattas and complained that though he had excused them for that fault "yet they had never so much as thought of him or offered him so much as the hair of a horse's tail." The interview concluded with a warning from the Nawab that he would wait two or three days more for an answer from Calcutta but if it did not arrive in that time he would send forces on the factories at Calcutta and Cassimbazar and force the English to comply with his demand. The vakil then went to see Haji Ahmad who advised them to make the Nawab a proper offer. The same advice was given them by Fateh Chand who added that the Nawab would not be satisfied without a large present.

The Company's servants at Cassimbazar were permitted to offer the Nawab a present of between forty and fifty thousand rupees. On the 22nd July they wrote that in accordance with these instructions they "have offered by the means of Chainray and Futtichund (whom the Nabob has appointed to adjust matters with them) as far as 50,000 rupees for the Nabob and his officers upon which they told their vacqueels that the offer bore so little proportion to the Nabob's demand that they did not dare mention it to him. Their vacqueels alleged the injustice of the Nabob's demand and showed them how ill grounded his reasons were, they also represented to them the great expenses the Hon'ble Company had been at and the considerable losses they had suffered in the late troubles. Futtichund replied these reasons might be of weight at another season but that at present the Government was in

great want of money to pay the troops necessary for the preservation of the country and all the traders in it that the Nabob was taking money from every person in the province and expected a large sum from us; he concluded with advising them to write again to us to learn how much we were willing to give towards satisfying the Nabob's demand. On the 21st they again sent their vacqueels to Chainray and Futtichund with orders to learn if possible the Nabob's real intention, and what he expects. In this conference Futtichund told them they must not imagine the present Government to be like what they had known formerly when it had been in his power to soften them and bring them to easy terms for these people were violent, rapacious and deceitful and it was impossible to say how far the Nabob would go to attain his ends. Their vacqueel pressing to know what he thought the Nabob would be contented with he replied it was impossible to learn the Nabob's mind, that his demand was two months' pay for his troops which he valued at 20 Laack of rupees that it could not be supposed he would abate above half so that he would expect at least ten Laack from the three European Nations, that if we would empower him to offer five laack for our share he would use his utmost endeavours to get it accepted and that the French and Dutch had already agreed to pay such share as should be allotted them as soon as the Nabob had settled with us. To this discourse Chainray added that in case we offered within 40 and 50,000 rupees of the above sum he would endeavour to get it accepted. This is all they could get out of these ministers to be depended on but Futtichund in the above conference speaking of the smallness of the late offer told the vacqueels that they had to his knowledge paid a much larger sum in Sujah Doulah's time and bid them look into their accompts and they would find it so. As this seemed to be a hint whether accidentally or designedly dropt they examined the cash accounts of that time, and found in the year 1731 that there was paid to the Durbar by the means of Futtichund 184,500 siccas, the particulars whereof they enclose for our inspection. . . . . It is impossible for them to know whether Futtichund hinted this as if the like offer would be accepted in the present case but from the violent measures pursued they are of opinion that a less offer would be rejected. . . . . Their business is entirely stopped none of their merchants being suffered to bring any thing into their factory and they are every day threatened to have forces sent to surround them."

On the 27th the merchants at Cassimbazar wrote:—"Their vacqueels daily wait on Futtichund, Chainray and Hadje Hamet but all they can get from them is that when they are impowered to make offers then they can speak." The information they had received from the most influential quarters led them to the conclusion that the Nawab's design was "to fleece the whole country without having regard to any advantage he may expect from it in



future." Every person who was reputed to have money was seized and whipped until he disgorged his wealth while sums of 500 and 1,000 rupees were taken from "those who had not double the sum in the world." Three laks had been demanded from one of their merchants and Fateh Chand commenting on this had remarked to their vakils "If the Nawab will have three laks from one of your merchants what will he expect from you?"

The Council at Calcutta advanced to Rs. 1000,000 but when this offer was made to Fateh Chand and Chainray they pointed out that it was greatly disproportionate to the Nawab's expectations and declared they could not mention it to him. Had four or five laks been offered they would not have failed in their utmost endeavours to get it accepted but as the English were resolved to give no more than one lak all they could do was "to sit still and see what further measures the Nabob would pursue." Their fear was that he would proceed to violence. "As these ministers talk in this strain," the Company's servants wrote, "we are at a loss how to proceed." The only bright spot in their affairs was the fact that there was a division among the Nawab's counsellors "his old ones having advised him to gentle methods and his new ones push him on to violent measures."

The Company decided to send a petition to the Nawab in which it was pointed out that whenever a dispute had arisen between the Company and the Government it had been customary to refer their case to Fateh Chand and such officers of the Durbar as had a thorough knowledge of their affairs.

On the 7th August the English at Cassimbazar wrote:—"Their vacqueels waited on the Nabob with their petition. He laid hold of the part of it where-in they represented it had been usual to refer all disputes with Government to Futtichund &ca Mutsuddys of the Durbar and replied when did he deny the having their affairs accommodated by Futtichund &ca and turning to his secretary bid him carry their vacqueels immediately to Futtichund and Chainray and order them to settle with them. These ministers told the vacqueels that indeed the Nabob had ordered them to settle matters but how could they do it when the Nabob's demand and their offers were so widely different—the Nabob had abated nothing of 25 Laack and they had offered but one tho' they said they had of their own hands offered 50,000 more but that the Nabob would not hearken to it for that Mustapha Cawn had told him that he would get 25 Laack out of the English. Their vacqueels replied they might be well assured that they should never pay any such sum. Futtichund and Chainray then said the Nabob did not expect this sum from the Company and was regardless whether they gave the Laack they offered or not but he expected that we should raise the sum he demands among the merchants under our protection

and from the number of rich persons fled to Calcutta in the time of the late trouble and since the Nabob's circumstances at present are such that in order to pay the forces he has raised for the defence of the country after having expended the revenues of the province and all his own wealth he is now forced to take money from his own relations and servants he thinks it highly reasonable that the inhabitants of Calcutta and all people protected there who have hitherto carried on their business scotfree should assist him in this emergency by paying their share and he wills that we should tax them as we think proper, and if any refuse to pay the proportion we think fit to assign that we have only to send them to him and he will oblige them to a compliance. Their vacqueels represented this as unprecedented and that if we could not protect our merchants from the Government's demands it would be impossible to carry on our business. Futtichund said this was an extraordinary case and would not be brought into precedent besides how should we be able to avoid it. The Nabob had stopped our business there, at Patna and Dacca and all the aurungs by which means he had all our money and goods in his power and he would certainly plunder them if they did not find a way to satisfy him otherwise that he and his officers had come to a resolution of attacking that factory but was prevailed on by Hodjee, Chainray and Futtichund to forbear the attempt now but could not answer for what violence he might be drove to at last that the Nabob had actually sent for the merchants' gomastahs from all the aurungs and would oblige them to bring their goods to Murshidabad by which means he would not only get all he could from their merchants but also retain his demand on the Hon'ble Company which would occasion our loss on all sides. Futtichund concluded with advising them to get immediately such an offer from us as he might propose to the Nabob with some hopes of succeeding for on the present terms they could neither bring them nor the Nabob to an agreement."

The next day Fateh Chand and Chainray waited on the Nawab who asked them what they had settled in regard to the English. "They answered it was impossible for them to come to a conclusion as he was pleased not to abate anything of his demand of 25 laack and the English advanced nothing upon their one laack, upon which the Nabob remained silent." Whatever may have been the nature of the Nawab's thoughts his necessities drove him to declare that if the English did not comply with his demands he would plunder all factories "not that the Nabob would willingly pursue these violent measures," Fateh Chand informed the English, "or wanted by these means to enrich himself but he was obliged to get sufficient to pay the arrears due to his troops even at the risk of his life for the military officers were impatient and daily importuned him to give them orders to fall on them and the aurungs."

He urged them "if they had regard for the Company's money or goods or even for their own lives" to satisfy the Nawab.

Two days later Chainray said to the English wakil "The Nawab has acquainted Futeh Chand with his last resolution in regard to the English, which Fateh Chand will keep in his own breast and advise nobody of. It is now your business to let Fateh Chand know the utmost you will give. This must be large. Two laks will not be regarded. You should let no one know the sum you offer but Fateh Chand who by comparing what you offer with what the Nawab expects will have it in his power to be moderator between both parties and thereby enabled to bring the affair to a conclusion. . . . You are much mistaken if you imagine that at length the Government will hear reason for I must tell you, if you do not already perceive it that there is now no Government in Bengai nor hardiy anything of the province remaining but the name. The Nawab's Council are guided by the will of the soldiers who will not suffer him to spare even his own relations but oblige him to take money from all persons without distinction."

The President and Council at Calcutta held out till the end of August but on the 28th they directed John Forster, the chief at Cassimbazar, to finish the affair on the best terms he could within a limit of four laks. Forster settled the dispute for three and a half laks of rupees and on the 16th September reported to the Council:— "On the 15th Futtichund came to their Factory by the Nabob's Order and brought them Perwannahs for the Hon'ble Company's Business at Hughley Putna Dacca and all the Aurungs. . . . The Chief acquainting the Gentlemen of Council that he had been obliged to agree to the Payment of three Laack of Rupees and a half to the Nabob in order to the accommodation and Futtichund demanding Payment thereof as he had given a full Currency to their Business they were forced to desire him to lend them the Money at Interest which he readily agreed to and they accordingly gave him their Interest Note for Three Laack and Fifty Thousand Sicca Rupees. We will please to supply them when we think proper with Money to Pay off their Debts to him and others which now amout to 540,000 Siccas."<sup>240</sup>

By October all ill feeling arising from the dispute had been dispelled. On the 20th the Company's servants at Cassimbazar wrote:—"That day Futtichund came to their factory by the Nabob's order to acquaint them of his good intention towards the English and as a proof thereof he delivered to the Chief a letter from the Nabob under his seal to the President which he desired the

<sup>240</sup>. Bengal Consultations, 13th July, 21st July, 25th July, 28th July, 6th August, 13th August, 18th September, 1744.

Chief to deliver with his own hand as he heard he was soon to go down and that a seerpaw and elephant were getting ready and should be sent to that factory within the space of four days to be forwarded to the President. They take the liberty to remark that this is there looked upon as an extraordinary mark of favour and will be expected to be received accordingly. The Nawab's mark of favour was received in Calcutta on the 5th December with appropriate ceremony and a compliment of fifty seven guns.<sup>241</sup>

A glimpse of Fateh Chand as the Nawab's confidential adviser is given in the Consultation dated 16th November, 1744 which run thus:—"John Forster Esq. acquaints us that when he visited the Nabob after having sat a short time with him in Publick he carried him into a Private Room with Futtichund and Chainray he then told him that by the advices he had received by his spies he Expected the Return of the Morattoes this Season with a Large Army, and that he should soon set out to oppose them, but as his people were not trained up to the use of Fire Arms as the Europeans, he desired Mr. Forster would supply him with 30 or 40 of our Soldiers and an English officer to Command them that it should be no Expense to the Company for he would give them such Pay as Mr. Forster should Stipulate he then said, he had one thing more to ask which was a fine Arab horse for his own Riding and that if there was one in Calcutta he desired he might have him." A horse was purchased for 2750 rupees and sent to the Nawab but the military aid was refused.

That is the last incident in the life of Fateh Chand of which there is any record. On the 28th December the Company's servants at Cassimbazar wrote:—"The 26th in the morning died Futtichund. He has left his vast wealth to his grandsons Moutabray and Sooroopchund by whom it's supposed the business of the house will be carried on as usual. They believe letters of compliment to them from the President would be proper."<sup>242</sup>

The death of his two sons and the anarchy in Bengal which was a result of the invasions of the Mahrattas cast a gloom over the last years of Jagat Seth Fateh Chand but in the thirty years of his control of the banking house at Murshidabad he had raised it in power and wealth and make its name celebrated throughout Hindostan. His reputation as a banker among the Company's servants in Bengal was very high. The year before he died, under pressure from the Nawab, he reluctantly consented to buy a quantity of silver from the English and offered them a price for it but in the hope that the whole transaction would fall to the ground he suddenly lowered the price. This action of his came upon the English as a startling surprise for, as they said,

241. Bengal Consultations, 24th October, 1744; 5th December, 1744.

242. Bengal Consultation, 4th January, 1744-5.

Fateh Chand had always been most scrupulous in keeping his word.<sup>243</sup> His wealth made a great impression on the minds of his contemporaries. In the opinion of Holwell he was the greatest banker and the most opulent subject in the world<sup>244</sup> while the author of the *Seir Mutaqherin* declared that his fortune was past all belief. Orme, writing of Fateh Chand, says:—"There was a family of Gentoo merchants at Muxadavad whose head, Juggut Seat, had raised himself from no considerable origin to be the wealthiest banker in the empire, in most parts of which he had agents supplied with money for remittances, from whom he constantly received good intelligence of what was transacting in the governments in which they were settled. In Bengal his influence was equal to that of any officer of the administration; for by answering to the treasury as security for most of the renters farming the lands of the province, he knew better than any one all the details of the revenue; while the great circulation of wealth which he commanded rendered his assistance necessary in every emergency of expense."<sup>245</sup>

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243. "They have endeavoured to learn a reason for Futtichund's shuffling so unaccountably in this affair as he was formerly remarkable for keeping punctually (punctiliously?) to his first word and are informed by Roopchund his Gomastah with whom he is most intimate that he does it to avoid taking our Bullion which the Nabob presses him to bring into the mint, but that Atoulikan and Chainray having a large (larger?) state in the management thereof than Futtichund he is disgusted besides fears he shall be a long time in getting it coined for whereas he formerly had five days in the week to coin in he can now hardly have the use of the Mint for one day in the week and if the Mahottas should return (of which he has some apprehension) before the silver is coined it may lay (sic) long on his hands: he therefore tells the Nabob he can't get it because we ask too high a price and offers us a low price that we may not let him have it or at least delay the time till he can be more certain whether the Mahottes will return or not" (Bengal Consultation, 22nd November, 1743).

244. Interesting Historical Events.

145. Orme.

## CHAPTER 3.

JAGAT SETH MAHTAB RAI AND MAHARAJA  
SWARUP CHAND.

The letters of compliment of the President of the English Company in Bengal were sent to "the grandson of Futtichund deceased,"<sup>1</sup> that is, to Seth Mahtab Rai, as if he, and he alone, had stepped into the place of Jagat Seth Fateh Chand. In reality, the affairs of the house were administered jointly by him and his cousin, Swarup Chand, the son of Dya Chand, and so closely connected were they in all their dealings that they were commonly regarded as brothers. For a few years the names of Mahtab Rai and Swarup Chand are coupled together by the English when they record their transactions with the banking house at Murshidabad though sometimes habit proved too strong and, forgetful of his death, they still continued to record transactions with Fateh Chand and Fateh Chan's house, while, as has been pointed out, Jagat Seth Fateh Chand and Seth Anand Chand persisted as the title of the firm for many years. Before long the actual names of the two heads of the house dropped out of use and they were usually referred to by Europeans as the Seths. To Seth Mahtab Rai alone descended the title of Jagat Seth though for some reason which cannot now be ascertained, he did not receive the farman of the Emperor Ahmad Shah confirming him in the title till the year 1748. His cousin, Swarup Chand, was ennobled with the title of Maharaja.

We have seen the condition of Bengal at the time of the death of Jagat Seth Fateh Chand and this period of war and confusion so detrimental and hateful to peaceful bankers and merchants continued for seven years longer. Year after year the track of the Mahrattas was marked by plundered villages and blazing towns while in front of them the inhabitants fled across the great river to the comparative security of eastern Bengal. To Mahratta invasions were added revolts of Pathan soldiers of fortune whom Alivardi Khan enlisted in his armies. Alivardi Khan met all the dangers that menaced him with a dauntless spirit that brought success in its train until, in 1751, an old man worn out with the fatigues of war, he purchased peace by the cession of Orissa to the Mahrattas and an annual payment of 12 laks of rupees. In the annals of these years of warfare there is scant reference to Mahtab Rai and Swarup Chand but they played their part in the mustering of the troops and the marching of the armies with which Alivardi Khan faced his enemies year after year. They were admitted into the most secret councils of the Nawab, they were entrusted with almost all his financial affairs, whenever there was a prospect of

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1. Bengal Consultations, 15th January, 1744-5.

peace they were active in promoting it, and when war had to be waged they provided the means. At the time of Alivardi Khan's greatest peril to which a reference was made in the last chapter, when the ordinary resources of the province were exhausted and money was required for the pay of the soldiers they contributed "mighty sums" from their own fortune.

But though the historians of warfare have few occasions to mention the Seths the records of the English merchants in Bengal contain frequent references to them. At no previous period had the Company relied so much on the bankers at Murshidabad for the means of carrying on their trade in Bengal and never before had they owed such large sums to them. The reason of this is not far to seek. It was difficult to obtain money from any other source. The extortions of Alivardi Khan had driven most bankers and rich merchants to hide their wealth and profess poverty so that rupees became very scarce in Bengal. But the vessel of the Seths survived the storm in which so many were submerged though even they had to furl their sails, partly from the great scarcity of money, partly to keep the demands of the government upon them within bounds and partly owing to the many calls upon them from all parts of the province.

Most of the references to the Seths in the Bengal records at this period deal with the purchase of bullion and negotiations for loans. The two cousins agreed to take the Company's bullion but only at the price fixed by Fateh Chand in the previous year which was 203 rupees for 240 sicca rupees' weight of dollar silver and Rs. 2 As. 7 Pies 3 for ducations. In June, 1735 when the Company had 40 chests to dispose of the merchants at Cassimbazaar proposed to raise the price to what Fateh Chand had formerly paid for the Company's silver but the Seths absolutely refused to make any advance alleging "that it was not owing to them but the Government that the price was lowered."<sup>2</sup>

Probably owing to the falling off of trade in Bengal during these years of trouble the money sent from England seems barely to have sufficed for the needs of the factory at Calcutta so that the factories at Cassimbazar, Dacca and Patna had, to a great extent, to rely on the Seths for the means of carrying on their investments. In July 1745 the Company's servants at Dacca applied to Jagat Seth's house at that place for Rs. 50,000 but received the answer "they had neither sicca nor Arcot rupees." They requested the Council at Calcutta to induce Jagat Seth to order his gomastah to supply them with money "as no other shroff there can answer what they want," but when the Company's servants at Cassimbazar, acting on instructions from Calcutta, applied to the Seths for a bill of a lak of rupees on their house at Dacca the ban-

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2. Bengal Consultations, 8th January, 1744-5, 24th June, 1745.



kers' reply was that "they have no money there therefore cannot draw." Thereupon the Seths were asked to provide the money as an advance on account of the bullion they had received "which they promised to do as fast as they could get it minted for rupees are so very scarce they cannot pay them till then. They have yet taken away but thirty chests of the bullion and paid but fifty thousand rupees on the account which before the receipt of our orders they had employed. . . . They promise to send them fifteen thousand rupees in four days, which they shall immediately dispatch to Dacca and send the remainder when it comes in but if they can borrow sufficient they shall send it sooner tho' they despair of borrowing from the scarcity of rupees at the present time." On the 5th August the Company's servants were able to dispatch Rs. 50,000 to Dacca and the information that Mahtab Rai and Swarup Chand had ordered their gomastah at Dacca to supply the factory with Rs. 50,000 more. "However," wrote the Company's servants at Dacca on the 23rd, "upon applying to him he sent word he could not let them have any money which they represented to the gentlemen at Cossimbazar desiring them to supply them with the other fifty thousand rupees." The merchants at Cassimbazar applied immediately to Mortobray and Soroopchund to know why their promise of supplying Dacca factory was not complied with. They told them that they had heard from their gomastah that the reason of this refusal was that he had been much troubled by the Dacca Government about the value of sicca rupees and therefore would not disburse any more without fresh orders from them. They had sent such positive orders then that the sum wanted should be immediately advanced." On the 17th September the merchants informed the Council that the advance had been received. Meanwhile a week or two previously the new sicca rupees "had come out by the means of Futtichund's family."<sup>3</sup>

Again in October the Company's servants at Dacca applied to Jagat Seth's house for a lak of rupees and again the gomastah sent them word that "he had no sicca rupees" but "if they would get an order from his master he would supply them." When the English at Cassimbazar applied for this order the Seths assured them it had been sent to their gomastah "but as they have such large drafts upon them other ways the Gentlemen at Dacca must be content with receiving such sums as their gomastah is in cash to supply them with by ten or twenty thousand rupees at a time." However on the 25th October the Dacca factory received a loan of Rs. 100,000 from Jagat Seth's house there.<sup>4</sup>

In 1746 the factory at Cassimbazar was in difficulties and in April begged the Council to supply them with money. "For the most they can take up of

3. Bengal Consultations, 17th July, 29th July, 8th August, 31st August, 2nd September, 1745.

4. Bengal Consultations, 14th October, 28th October, 2nd November, 1745.

Futtichund and the other shroffs there will not be more than one hundred and fifty thousand rupees." The Council applied to the Seth's gomastah at Hugli "Who returned us for answer," they record, "that he is not in cash but says that he will write to his principals and advises us to write to them also to desire them to supply the factory at Cossimbuzar with what money the Chief and Council there may want." The President wrote to Mahtab Rai and Swarup Chand and the letter was delivered to the latter who said "he could not supply them with any money at present it being dispersed in many parts of the country but believed he should be able to do it in a month's time."<sup>5</sup>

At the same time the Company renewed two interest notes for sums borrowed from the Seths requesting them that the interest due on them might be added to the principal—a sufficient proof of the difficulties of the Company. These two notes with the interest added to them amounted to Rs. 272,500 and this sum was increased in a few months by Rs. 50,000.<sup>6</sup>

In May the Company's servants at Cassimbazar reported that they had borrowed a lak of rupees but the most they could hope to borrow in addition, was a further lak "for the scarcity of money is so great that it has been with some difficulty Futtichund's house has been able to pay for the bullion sold them; at least it appears to them that if they have money they don't care to produce it for fear of the Government." In July, however, all their efforts to take up money at interest had been unsuccessful and they were quite unable to carry on their investment. From Dacca came the same complaint. All the efforts of the English there to obtain money at nine per cent. were fruitless and the Council had ordered them on no account to borrow money at a higher rate.<sup>7</sup>

Luckily in October 70 chests containing 500,000 rupees' weight of silver were landed at Calcutta and the President wrote to Jagat Seth Mahtab Rai asking him to purchase it and advance two laks of rupees—a lak of which was to be sent to Dacca. As the country was in a very unsettled state at this time the President asked Jagat Seth to receive the silver at his house in Calcutta instead of at Cassimbazar as was usual. Jagat Seth Mahtab Rai agreed to take the silver but times were hard and his terms less favourable than those of former times. His gomastah informed the Company's servants at Cassimbazar that his master would advance what they wanted, viz., an order for a lak of rupees on his house at Dacca, a lak to send to Calcutta and Rs. 50,000 for their own use "provided they allowed him one per cent. on the bill to Dacca as customary and in consideration of his giving the Cossimbuzar price for the bullion which he

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5. Bengal Consultations, 19th April, 23rd April, 3rd May, 1746.

6. Bengal Consultations, 5th May, 1746.

7. Bengal Consultations, 30th June, 21st July, 5th September.

said would sell in Calcutta for no more than 197 rupees and bearing the charges and risk of bringing it to Muxadavad not to be accountable for any interest for one month from the time the bullion was received in Calcutta." The President and Council wrote to the Company's servants at Cassimbazar when they received this news:—"We think they act the unhandsome part with regard to the one per cent. they require for their bill to Dacca. They must represent to them that we did not use to be treated in this manner by that family, Futtichund using to give us orders on his house at Dacca free when we were to receive the money from him, however if they insisted on it we cannot help it and must comply therewith and as they will expect not to be accountable for any interest for one month from the time money bullion was received in Calcutta. . . . it must be allowed of if they cannot persuade them to give it up."<sup>8</sup>

The year 1747 saw no improvement in trade in Bengal. In February the Dacca merchants informed the Council that they were quite out of cash and had no hopes of getting anywhere. An opportune arrival of 30 chests of bullion which were sent to Cassimbazar and sold to Jagat Seth Mahtab Rai enabled the Company to obtain an advance of a lak and a half of rupees from Jagat Seth's house but only at the expense of complaints from the Company's servants at Cassimbazar who wrote "the withdrawing this money from them when the debts there are so great and credit at the lowest ebb, when those who were clamorous before gave them on the arrival thereof no manner of disturbance what may not be expected when they see so large a part of what was sent them at once vanished and what the consequences may be we will best discover being fully persuaded themselves that nothing but the greatest emergency could occasion it." The Council pacified them with a promise to send more bullion but when this arrived at Cassimbazar the Seths could not be prevailed upon to take it away "on account one while of the troubles in the country and lately that the business of the mint was stopped though they have at length promised to send for it in three or four days and have given them to understand that for any more that may come up they will give no more than 201 sicca rupees per 240 sicca weight alleging by way of excuse to the imposition that the profit thereon is not near so great as formerly occasioned by rupees being made of finer silver than usual."<sup>9</sup>

In the latter half of 1747 the English merchants at Cassimbazar were in want of funds, those at Dacca were clamouring for a lak of rupees while the Nawab was also in the greatest distress for want of money to pay his troops.

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8. Bengal Consultations, 15th October, 27th November, 1746.

9. Bengal Consultations, 21st February, 1746-7, 23rd March, 1746-7, 11th April, 1747, 23rd June, 1747.

From these known facts it is evident that the demands on the Seths from all parts of the province must have been enormous and it is not surprising that their terms of doing business became more stringent. With regard to the English Company they persisted for some time in refusing to give more than 201 rupees for 240 sicca rupees' weight of silver and complained to the President that it had always been usual at Cassimbazar to pay off the interest due to them at the end of the year whereas the Company were now in the habit of adding interest to principal and giving fresh notes for the whole amount.<sup>10</sup>

On the 10th August the Council ordered the Company's servants at Cassimbazar to use their utmost endeavours to keep up the price of silver and to represent to Jagat Seth Mahtab Rai in the strongest manner that it would not be worth while to bring it from Europe at the price he offered. "They well know that house must be kept in temper," the Council added, "therefore we direct that the interest of his notes be paid off and that they endeavour to get him to order the gentlemen at Dacca some money—if not a laack at least fifty thousand rupees as they advise us they cannot go on ..... without a supply."<sup>11</sup>

On the 26th the Council received a reply from Cassimbazar to the effect that immediately after the receipt of their letter of the 10th "Ruidass one of the Seats' principal gomastahs came there to demand the interest on their notes for two years past altho' they had some time before freely consented (upon their representation how useful it would be to the Company) to the renewal of their Notes with the interest added thereto which was accordingly done upon their assuring them the interest should be paid off on the arrival of the Europe ships. They can't help therefore concluding but that they must have some other cause for this unexpected measure taken than what avowed and what confirms them the more in this opinion was their lending them unasked twenty two thousand rupees to give the Nabob. Their being obliged to pay off the interest of these notes which has swept away the amount of the twenty chests of treasure puts them under the greatest difficulties as to the carrying on their investment which we must be sensible of from the small balances of cash and treasury accounts which come enclosed Agreeable to our orders they applied to the Seats for a laack of rupees for Dacca factory but could procure no more than a bill of twenty five thousand rupees which they sent the gentlemen there by express cossids the 17th instant. The Seats have at length agreed to allow two hundred and three sicca rupees for the bullion tho' Ruidass with much warmth asked how they could except it when to his knowledge bullion had been sold in Calcutta by the Company's merchants at one hundred and ninety seven

10. Bengal Consultations, 25th June, 9th July, 10th August, 1747.

11. Bengal Consultations, 10th August, 1747.

rupees ten annas. If this be true their late behaviour to them may easily be accounted for."<sup>12</sup>

The Seths consistently aimed at monopolising the purchase of all silver in the province and the fact that the Company had disposed of some elsewhere was certain to have caused great offence to them. The Company thought it advisable to furnish the Seths with an explanation of the occurrence "with which," wrote the Company's servants at Cassimbazar, "they seemed satisfied but we have not been able to prevail with them to lend us any more money tho' we have made frequent applications to them on that account and we despair of getting any from them or elsewhere till the arrival of some of our Hon'ble Masters' ships."<sup>13</sup>

A few days afterwards the ships arrived with thirty chests of bullion and on the 25th September the Council "having taken into consideration how to dispose thereof and Seat Mautobray having wrote several times to the President to discharge an interest note given in Calcutta being on his own private account we think it necessary to keep him in temper as we can nowhere sell our bullion but to that house.

Agreed therefore that five chests be set apart to pay off part of his interest note and that twenty chests be sent to Cossimbuzar to be sold to Jugutseat's house and that they be desired to order us to the amount of ten chests of rupees to be paid by his house in Calcutta for the currency of our business here and that the amount of the other ten chests be used for their investment there and that the remaining five chests be kept for our use here." At the same time the Council wrote to Cassimbazar directing the merchants there to assure the Seths that a further large supply of bullion was expected daily "with which news they seemed well pleased and very readily agreed to pay for the bullion in the manner desired but said they could not think of giving more than 201 for 240 sicca weight" and in the end the silver had to be delivered to them at that price.<sup>14</sup>

In January 1748 the Council ordered the merchants at Cassimbazar to let the Seths know that the Company had one hundred chests of silver ready to deliver them either at Calcutta or Cassimbazar, out of which they were to pay themselves two laks of rupees in part of what was owing to them, advance a lak of rupees to the Cassimbazar factory, Rs. 50,000 to the Dacca factory and send the remainder to Calcutta.<sup>15</sup>

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12. Bengal Consultations, 26th August, 1747.

13. Bengal Consultations, 28th August, 23rd September, 1747.

14. Bengal Consultations, 25th September, 9th October, 19th October, 1747.

15. Bengal Consultations, 25th January, 1747-8.

The President also wrote to Jagat Seth Mahtab Rai on the subject but before the end of January the Nawab received news from Patna which nearly caused his utter ruin. Zainuddin Ahmad, his son-in-law, who was Governor of Behar, had foolishly taken into his service a former general of Alivardi Khan's together with 1,200 Pathans and these men had treacherously assassinated the Governor, imprisoned Haji Ahmad, seized the city, joined the Mahrattas and were advancing on Bengal. This news put an end to all business at Murshidabad.

The Bengal Consultations of the 8th February record:—"The President yesterday received a letter from Seat Mautobray in answer to what he had wrote to him about the Company's bullion wherein he says that he has been always ready to forward the Company's business and to take the Bullion off their hands and should do so now if it was in his power but the Accident which has lately happened at Patna has thrown everything into such confusion every one flying to save his life that he himself has taken leave of the Nabob and has got across the great River. That the Mint is shut up and he has no rupees to supply us with therefore desires to be excused doing any business till the Affairs in the Country are in a more settled condition."

Alivardi Khan's proceedings at this time of great stress have been narrated in the last chapter but in spite of the resolute manner in which he faced the crisis lack of money nearly brought disaster upon him. The Nawab resorted to extortion and by this means obtained a small sum but at the price of driving all the bankers remaining at Murshidabad out of the city.<sup>16</sup> The sum raised was quite inadequate for when he reached Khamrah, about twenty miles from Murshidabad, his soldiers refused to proceed unless they received a further payment.<sup>17</sup> It must have been at this critical juncture that Jagat Seth Mahtab Rai contributed the "mighty sums" spoken of in the *Seir Mutaqherin*. On the 21st March, a week afterwards, Alivardi Khan had crossed the borders of Behar. On the 23rd April he had gained a victory over the revolted general and on the 2nd December he was back at Murshidabad triumphant over all his enemies.<sup>18</sup>

In the same month the Governor of Hugli made a complaint against the English and this complaint caused a great deal of trouble to the Company until the matter was settled in the following October. England and France were at war and a King's ship had seized two vessels laden with goods belonging to Armenian and Muhammadan merchants of Hugli and containing besides presents

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16. Bengal Consultations, 26th March, 1748.

17. Bengal Consultations, *Ibid*.

18. Bengal Consultations, 2nd May, 5th December, 1748.

for the Nawab. In January, 1749 Alivardi Khan wrote to the Governor "These merchants are the kingdom's benefactors, their Imports and Exports are an advantage to all men, and their complaints are so grievous that I cannot forbear any longer giving ear to them. As you were not permitted to commit piracies therefore I now write you that on receipt of this you deliver up all the Merchants' goods, and effects to them as also what appertains unto me, otherwise you may be assured a due chastisement in such manner as you least expect." The Chief at Cassimbazar thought that the letter had probably been sent to appease the clamours of the Armenians and that the gift of a fine Arab horse to the Nawab would smoothe matters over. But the Nawab was in earnest. The Company's trade was stopped throughout the province. At Dacca the supply of provisions was cut off until the Company's servants, declaring that it was better to die fighting than starving, threatened to help themselves wherever they could. The factory at Cassimbazar was surrounded with troops and at length the English were compelled to come to terms. The Rev. James Long in his "Unpublished Extracts from the Records of Government" states that the English first tried to propitiate the Nawab through the Seths but the demands of the "two favourites" were too high—4 laks for the Nawab and Rs. 30,000 for themselves and adds "at last after much negotiation the Armenians expressing themselves satisfied the Nawab becomes reconciled, but the English got off after paying to the Nawab through the Seets 12,00,000 rupees."

12,00,000 is a mere slip of the pen for 1,20,000 but the allegation that the Seths demanded Rs. 30,000 for themselves is a more serious matter and quite incorrect. The statement made in a former chapter that the Seths never received a bribe for their services to the Company still holds good. Jagat Seth Mahtab Rai and Maharaja Swarup Chand were naturally disposed to continue the friendly relations which had subsisted between their house and the English and to render help to the Company when difficulties arose with the Government. Two years before the Council record that Mahtab Rai had been "very assisting"<sup>20</sup> to the Company in their affairs and a similar dispute to the present one had passed away without any untoward consequences. But now there was a decided coolness between the Seths and the Company and though they took no active steps against the English in spite of the fact that the Armenians paid assiduous court to them yet they refused to speak to the Nawab on their behalf while the Nawab placed the whole management of the affair in the hands of two men named Hookembeg and Carooleybeg.<sup>21</sup> These were the "two

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19. Long's Selections from Unpublished Records of Government, p. 19.

20. Bengal Consultations, 28th August, 1749.

21. Bengal Consultations, 28th August, 1749.

favourites" whom the writer quoted above mistake for the two Seths. These were the men who informed the Company's servants at Cassimbazar that nothing less than four laks would satisfy the Nawab "but," said the latter, "on giving Hookembeg and Carooleybeg to understand no great sum on so unjust a pretence would ever be complied with and standing it out with them they have reduced it to two laack which Hookembeg and Carooleybeg tell them the Nabob will certainly insist on. But notwithstanding this they still believe that by standing out longer it may in time be brought down to one laack besides twenty five or thirty thousand to Hookembeg, etc."<sup>22</sup>

Signs of the coolness between the Seths and the Company have already been noticed. Jagat Seth Mahtab Rai had complained about the sale of bullion in Calcutta and of the failure of the Company to pay the interest on the sums they had borrowed. In addition a long dispute was going on at Dacca arising from the fact that one of the Company's servants there had died owing the Seths a large sum of money and though the Company held themselves resolutely aloof from the matter officially still the fact remained that their servants were involved in the dispute. Further the Company was very greatly in debt to the Seths. In September, 1749 the debt of the Dacca factory to the Seths alone amounted to Rs. 584,000<sup>23</sup> and though we have not a record of the debt of the Cassimbazar factory for this year their account with the Seths in the year 1751 was Rs. 512,820<sup>24</sup> and was probably larger than this in 1749. The Seths considered that a large part of the bullion which arrived from Europe ought to have been applied to the reduction of these debts and were extremely discontented when this was not done. At the very outbreak of the Company's dispute with the Nawab their servants at Cassimbazar wrote "The Seats are much disgusted at not receiving some of the money per "Bombay Castle" a great part whereof it seems they expected. They therefore presume a letter from the President to them with some excuses for what has happened and assurances given that they shall in some measure be satisfied by the next supply of money that arrives will they apprehend have a good effect and bring them into better humour." To this the Council replied:—"In regard to Futtichund we shall always be glad to serve him when in our power but as the sum that is now arrived is but very small we could not spare him anything from our investment that might be satisfactory and therefore hope he will not take

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22. Bengal Consultations, 17th September, 1749.

23. Bengal Consultations 18th September, 1749.

24. "Since transmitting the Seats' Account Current with the Hon'ble Company they have prevailed with them to give up the Compound Interest on their notes for Siccas 512820-13." Letter from Cassimbazar in Bengal Consultations, 18th November, 1751.



amiss waiting a little longer as we expect a large supply very shortly."<sup>25</sup> The Company's servants at Cassimbazar reported that the Seths were not at all satisfied with the message they had received whereupon the Council directed them to assure the Seths that "we shall do all we can to keep up a fair correspondence with them by doing all that is in our power to serve them."<sup>26</sup>

This was in January. At the end of February the English at Cassimbazar heard that a ship had arrived with silver and wrote to the Council to remind them "of what they before requested in regard to their merchants but more particularly to the Seats to make them easy for upon them only they depend to be extricated from their difficulties."<sup>27</sup> 17 chests of silver were sent to Cassimbazar to pay to Jagat Seth but when they applied to him for help in finishing their dispute with the Nawab all he would do was to advise them that the quickest and cheapest way of ending the business was to pay the Nawab a sum of money for if they satisfied him the Armenians would have to be satisfied also.<sup>28</sup> In August the English at Cassimbazar proposed to send a Mr. Kelsall to the Seths in order to induce them to speak to the Nawab in their behalf but the Seths informed them they were disinclined to interfere in the matter or to admit of any visit till the dispute with the Durbar had been made up.<sup>29</sup> Thus it will be seen that the Seths practically held themselves entirely aloof from this quarrel between the English and the Nawab and they pursued this course until the dispute was settled in October by the Company promising to pay the Nawab Rs. 120,000. To pay this sum the Company were obliged to apply to the Seths.

"They had some days before," wrote the Company's servants at Cassimbazar on the 20th October, "directed the Vacqueels to wait on the Seats and sound them in regard to supplying them with what money they might want on this occasion but could never get a positive answer from them before the dispute with the Nawab was ended when they sent their vacqueels to them again to request they would advance the money. At first they made the greatest difficulty to comply with their request notwithstanding they assured them it should be paid out of the first money that came up. After representing to them strongly the ill consequences which would arise to the Company's affairs in case their business was not cleared immediately they (the Seths) sent Ruidass their gomastah there to talk with them further about it who complained heavily of our not having paid anything this season of the large debt the Company owed them at that factory notwithstanding so much treasure had been imported by the

25. Bengal Consultations, 19th December, 1748.

26. Bengal Consultations, 3rd January, 1748-9.

27. Bengal Consultations, 25th February, 1748-9.

28. Bengal Consultations, 13th April, 1749.

29. Bengal Consultations, 28th August, 1749.

several ships lately arrived and then told them they could not let them have the money unless they would promise to pay them three laack of rupees as soon as their boats come up. They told Ruidass that they could not answer this without first writing to us about it but if the Seats would furnish them with the money they had then occasion for they would write to us to supply them with as much as ever we could spare which should be all paid to them but this being no way satisfactory he then demanded of them to give up a bill of exchange they had on his master's house for twenty three thousand sicca rupees, the four chests of bullion remaining in their treasury and to draw a bill on us for two laack of sicca rupees which they agreed to on his promising to advance one laack and fifty thousand sicca rupees directly."

It is curious to note that in the bill drawn by the Company's servants at Cassimbazar on the President and Council at Calcutta the name of Manik Chand turns up again in the name of the firm. "This morning," runs the record, "we received a letter from the Gentlemen at Cossimbazar dated the 17th Instant advising of their having drawn a Bill on us for two Laack of Sicca Rupees (Rs. 200,000) payable at sight to Bidendass or order for value received of Seat Monickhund Seat Anunchund which they request us to honour.

The Seats' Gomastah now tendering the Bill of Exchange as advised of in the foregoing Letter.

Ordered the Committee of Treasury to pay off the same."<sup>30</sup>

During this year we come across, for the first time, the name of Jagat Seth Mahtab Rai's eldest son—Kushal Chand—who seem to have entered the firm at this time. On the 15th June, 1749, the merchants at Dacca wrote. "We have made the Seats' Gomastah easy for the present but with a promise of payment of their note to Seat Mowtabray Bauboo Coosalchand for fifty four thousand sicca rupees as soon as the expected shipping arrive and a currency is given to our business."<sup>31</sup>

We read of many more transactions between the Company and the Seats during the remaining years of the Government of Alivardi Khan but, with one exception they may be passed over in silence. On the 9th January, 1750 the Company's servants at Cassimbazar forwarded to Calcutta a copy of an order which "their vacqueels inform them the Seats have lately obtained from the Nabob which forbids all persons besides themselves from purchasing any silver or taking any Arcot rupees."<sup>32</sup>

Alivardi Khan enjoyed five years of peace after his treaty with the Mah-rattas and died in his 80th year on the 9th April, 1756.

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30. Bengal Consultations, 21st October, 1749.

31. Bengal Consultations, 26th June, 1749.

32. Bengal Consultations, 11th January, 1749-50.

## 2.

The author of the *Seir Mutaqherin*, writing at a time when the son of Mir Jafar possessed but a shadow of the authority of former Nawabs, declared that men would hardly be able to believe the credit and authority enjoyed by Mah-tab Rai and Swarup Chand in Menagl during the time of Alivardi Khan. M. Law, the chief of the French factory at Cassimbazar, mentions the great respect with which they were treated by the Nawab. Like Fateh Chand they had great influence at Delhi. Their reputation in that city was so great that when the inhabitants heard of the revolution of 1757 which overthrew Siraj-ud-daula and placed Mir Jafar on the throne, they ascribed it entirely to the Seths and Rai Durlabh Ram while Clive, whose name was well-known to them, was a great captain whom the Seths had brought from very far great expense to deliver Bengal from the tyranny of Siraj-ud-daula.<sup>33</sup> If the wealth of Fateh Chand impressed the people of Bengal the wealth of the two cousins dazzled them. It was impossible to mention it "without seeming to exaggerate and to deal in extravagant fables."<sup>34</sup> The populace, to whom krons of rupees conveyed but a vague meaning, estimated the wealth of the Seths by saying that they could, if they chose, have blocked up the head of the Bhagirathi at Suti with rupees. 4,000 persons of all sorts, lived in their palaces. "All the bankers of their time in Bengal were either their factors or some of their family" and thousands of these agents acquired such fortunes in their service that they were able to purchase large tracts of lands and other possessions.<sup>35</sup>

One great source of profit to the Seths was the receipt of the revenue of Bengal and other payments made to the Nawab. It appears that they were entitled to receive ten per cent.<sup>36</sup> on all these payments and Scrafton estimated their profits from this source at 40 lakhs a year.

But there was a practice, peculiar to Bengal, which though a grievance to the inhabitants in general, must have proved a perennial stream of wealth to the Seths. Mr. Batson describes the practice in 1760, when Mir Kasim was Nawab. "The Nawab receives his revenues in siccas of the current year only, which are accordingly esteemed the only authorised coin, that is to say, the only coin a person is obliged to receive in payment; and all siccas of a lower date being esteemed, like the coin of foreign provinces, only a merchandise, are bought and sold at a certain discount called the batta, which rises and falls like the price of other goods in the market. This undervaluation of all siccas of a lower date than the current year being established, the

33. Hill's *Three Frenchmen in Bengal*, p. 118.

34. *Seir Mutaqherin*, Vol. II, p. 227.

36. *Seir Mutaqherin*, Vol. II, p. 227.

36. Hill's *Bengal in 1756-57*, Vol. II, p. 278.

farmer of the Nabob's Mint and the Shroffs connected with him use various artifices to maintain it, that they may have an opportunity of buying up such undervalued rupees which they carry into the Mint and stamp anew; hence arises their profit, which enables them to give a yearly sum to the Nabob for the farm." Mr. Batson estimated that the charge of stamping the rupees afresh would be, if properly managed, not more than  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. and considerably less if a large quantity of rupees were sent to the Mint. "By the shroffs connected with the farmers of the Mint," Mr. Batson meant "Juggut Set's house, who have the privilege of coining and now stamping their money in the Nabob's Mint on paying to the farmer as I understand a duty of  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., by this privilege and by their great wealth and influence in the country they reap the chief benefit arising from the abovementioned practice, which I have called an indirect tax, and the Nabob finds it convenient to indulge them therein in recompense for the loans and exactions he obliges them to in his exigencies of money."<sup>37</sup>

As their connection with the Mint at Murshidabad was so profitable to them they were naturally hostile to the establishment of a Mint at Calcutta which might possibly have diminished their profits. How hopeless it was, in the time of Alivardi Khan for the English to establish a Mint against the wishes of the Seths can be seen from the following letter, dated the 8th February, 1753, to Roger Drake, the President of the Council at Calcutta.

Hon'ble Sir,—As the directions to the Hon'ble the President and Council from the Hon'ble the Court of Directors for the establishment of a mint in Calcutta require the utmost secrecy, I have been obliged to use the greatest caution in the affair, but by all the distant enquiries I could make it would be impracticable to effect it with the Nabab, as an attempt of that kind would be immediately overset by Juggut Set even at the expense of a much larger sum than what our Hon'ble Masters allow us to pay; he being the sole purchaser of all the Bullion that is imported in this province by which he is annually a very considerable gainer.

However, that no means might be left unessayed to get so beneficial a privilege for our Hon'ble Masters, I have at last ventured to entrust and consult our vaqueel, who is of the same opinion that it is impossible to effect it here, but said his Master Hackem Beg had a son in great power at Delhie, who might be able to get us a Phirmaund from the King; but that this would be attended at least with the expense of one hundred thousand Rupees, and that on the arrival of the Phirmaund here it would cost another hundred thousand

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37. Long's Selections from Unpublished Records of Government, p. 216.

Rupees to the Mutsuddys and Dewans of the Nabob to put that Phirmaund in force, and that this affair must be carried on with the greatest secrecy, that Juggut Set's house might not have the least intimation of it, but I much question whether we could get the mint for any sum with so extensive a privilege as our Hon'ble Masters want.

I am, etc.,

(Sd.) WILLIAM WATTS.<sup>38</sup>

An article in the treaty made with Siraj-ud-daula in February 1757, gave the Company the right to establish their mint at Calcutta and this right was confirmed by Mir Jafar. At first, however, the Company found great difficulty in persuading people to accept the Calcutta rupees in payment. In January 1758, a European merchant, to whom the Company had to pay 11 laks of rupees, absolutely refused to take the Calcutta money and when the public notary was sent to protest against his conduct, he refused to admit him and the protest had to be nailed to his door. His excuse was that by accepting the Company's rupees his fortune was daily exposed to being curtailed from  $5\frac{1}{2}$  to 10 per cent. at the pleasure of Jagat Seth "who," he said, "has the sole management and direction of the current money of the country, and can always make it fluctuate in such a manner as he sees fitting and convenient for his purpose." When the Court of Directors heard of the merchant's conduct they ordered him to quit India within a year, "his behaviour appearing to be insolent as well as frivolous and tending to set an example of obstinacy and opposition."<sup>39</sup> But the military could not be dealt with in that manner and when they remonstrated on the same ground as the merchant the Company had to yield. Nearly two years later, on the 29th December, 1759, we find the President and Council complaining to the Court of Directors that "our Mint is at present of very little use to us, as there has been no bullion sent out of Europe this season or two past, and we are apprehensive that it will never be attended with all the advantages we might have expected from it, as the coining of Siccās in Calcutta interferes so much with the interest of the Sets that they will not fail of throwing every obstacle in our way to depreciate the value of our money in the country, notwithstanding its weight and standard is in every respect as good as the Siccās of Moorshedabad; so that a loss of batta will always arise on our money, let our influence at the Durbar be ever so great."<sup>40</sup> At length, in November, 1760, the Company obtained from Mir Kasim, whom they had just made Nawab, a

38. Long's Selections from Unpublished Records of Government, p. 47.

39. Long's Selections from Unpublished Records of Government, p. 138.

40. Long's Selections from Unpublished Records of Government, p. 164.

parwana ordering their rupees to pass current and forbidding any person to demand a discount upon them.<sup>41</sup>

Another source of profit to the Seths was their transactions with the European merchants in Bengal. The English, French and Dutch all had dealings with them and these were on a large scale. We read of the Dutch borrowing Rs. 400,000 at the ordinary interest of  $\frac{3}{4}$  per cent. a month or 9 per cent. a year.<sup>42</sup> The French were heavily in debt to the Seths before the capture of Chandernagore by Clive in 1757. Orme says that their debt amounted to a million and a half of rupees. Some idea of the transactions of the English with Mahtab Rai and Swarup Chand has already been given while their successors sent in a claim to the English for between 50 and 60 lakhs of rupees. The inhabitants of Bengal firmly believe to this day that the Seths advanced large sums of money to the English prior to the battle of Plassey and that "the rupees of the Hindu banker, equally with the sword of the English Colonel contributed to the overthrow of the Muhammadan power in Bengal."<sup>43</sup>

The events which led to the overthrow of the Muhammadan power and the foundation of British domination in Bengal brought the Seths into close connection with the English. They were almost alone in their endeavours to dissuade Siraj-ud-daula from making his reckless march on Calcutta, they befriended the fugitives at Fulta, they earned the thanks of Clive for negotiating the treaty between Siraj-ud-daula and the English which left the latter free to deal with the French. M. Law, the Chief of the French factory at Cassimbazar, speaking with firsthand knowledge and from a bitter personal experience, affirmed that Jagat Seth Mahtab Rai and Maharaja Swarup Chand were the originators of the revolution that overthrew Siraj-ud-daula and that without their aid the English could never have accomplished what they did. Unlike others they never played the part of traitors to the English nor, like others, do they appear to have stipulated for a pecuniary return for their services. After the death of Siraj-ud-daula they averted combination of Hindu rajas of Behar who would have risen to establish a Hindu government.<sup>44</sup> Throughout the government of Mir Jafar and his successor Mir Kasim they steadily adhered to the English cause and their friendship for the English was the crime for which they were put to death by Mir Kasim. These events will form the subject of the following pages.

41. Long's Selections from Unpublished Records of Government, p. 227.

42. Hill's Bengal in 1756-57, Vol. i, p. 32.

43. Hunter's Statistical Account of Bengal, Vol. ix, p. 258.

44. Hill's Three Frenchmen in Bengal, p. 120.

## 2.

One of Siraj-ud-daula's relations, Ghulam Husain Khan, the author of the *Seir Mutaqherin*, reflecting on the incredible recklessness, folly, and wickedness of that Nawab, saw in his elevation to the government of Bengal, Behar and Orissa a manifestation of the workings of an avenging Providence, who had minutely recorded all the excesses and crimes of Alivardi Khan and his family and had decreed that this guilty race should be deprived of an empire that had cost so much toil in raising. Siraj-ud-daula's mother, Amina Begam, was a daughter of Alivardi Khan. Zainuddin Ahmad, his father, was a son of Haji Ahmad, Alivardi Khan's brother. He was assassinated at Patna in 1748 by Pathans who had revolted against Alivardi Khan. Siraj-ud-daula's birth is said to have taken place at the time when Shuja-ud-daula chose Alivardi Khan to be Governor of Behar and the latter, struck by the coincidence and attributing his good fortune to the event, adopted him as his heir. Alivardi Khan's love for his grandson was like that of Jacob for Benjamin but it was as ill-directed and as fatal as that of Eli "whose sons made themselves vile and he restrained them not." Siraj-ud-daula was trained to expect the gratification of every wish, indulgence in every whim and unfortunately, when he grew up, the whole bent of his mind was towards evil. Gathering around him a band of followers like himself "he commenced a course of insolencies, infamies and profligacies; and either out of that ignorance incident to that age, or because of an ardor natural to his constitution, (although really it was because of his perfect reliance on his uncle's forbearance) such a course of life became in him his real character. This is so far true, that he was observed to be low spirited and melancholy, whenever he fell short of opportunities to commit his usual excesses and enormities; and they became so customary to him, that he acted all along without a grain of remorse, or a spark of recollection. Making no distinction betwixt vice and virtue, and paying no regard to the nearest relations, he carried defilement wherever he went; and like a man alienated in his mind he made the houses of men and women of distinction the scenes of his profligacy, without minding either rank or station. In a little time he became as detested as Pharaoh: people on meeting him by chance used to say God save us from him."<sup>45</sup>

The European in Bengal thought it impossible that such a man would ever become ruler of the three provinces, but Siraj-ud-daula was marvellously favoured by fortune. His two uncles, Nawazish Muhammad, Governor of Dacca, and Sayyid Ahmad, Governor of Purnea, who might have proved formidable rivals, both died a few months before Alivardi Khan. Besides many

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45. *Seir Mutaqherin*, Vol. I, p. 645.

people thought that Siraj-ud-daula would become more humane when he was Nawab and were encouraged in this belief by the example of his uncle Nawazish Muhammad, who had been quite as vicious as Siraj-ud-daula in his youth and had grown up to be the idol of the people of the province. The influence of Alivardi Khan, too, counted for much and this influence, combined with a judicious distribution of gifts of money, was exerted on Siraj-ud-daula's behalf so that, contrary to all expectations Siraj-ud-daula quietly succeeded his grandfather when the latter died on April 9th 1756.<sup>46</sup> The hope that the possession of power would work a change in the character of Siraj-ud-daula was doomed to disappointment. The first act of his government was to despoil his aunt, Ghasita Begam, who had retired to Moti Jhil with the vast treasures left by her husband, Nawazish Muhammad. She was suspected of attempting to set up the infant son of Siraj-ud-daula's younger brother as Nawab. Great changes at Court followed. The old officers of Alivardi Khan were dismissed and their places given to worthless favourites. Mir Jafar, who for years had been paymaster of the forces, had to give place to a Hindu, Mir Madan. Another Hindu, Mohan Lal, "the greatest scoundrel the earth has ever borne, worthy Minister of such a master"<sup>47</sup> was made Diwan. This man who became the chief adviser of Siraj-ud-daula, was the "sworn enemy of the Seths." Jagat Seth Mahtab Rai and his cousin soon found that they were no longer treated with the great respect they had received from former Nawabs. "Siraj-ud-daula, the most inconsiderate of men, thinking it impossible that he could have need of these saukars<sup>48</sup> or that he could have any reason to fear them, never showed them the least politeness. Their wealth was his aim; sooner or later he would seize it." In less than a year Siraj-ud-daula found reason to alter his attitude to the Seths but it was then too late even if he had been sincere.

Before Siraj-ud-daula had been Nawab a month he had alienated not only the Seths but also most of the chief men at his court. They detested his character, they dreaded his violence and they could not bear the arrogance of his Hindu favourites who had been placed over them. Soon the principal men in the city "were only intent on finding out the means of overturning his power, whether by art, by force, or by treason."<sup>50</sup> Their time was to come but not immediately. The astonishing success of Siraj-ud-daula, first against the English and then against his cousin and rival, Shaukat Jung, the Governor of

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46. Law's Memoir in Hill's Bengal in 1756-57, Vol. III, pp. 162-164.

47. M. Law in Hill's Bengal in 1756-57, Vol. III, p. 190.

48. Bankers.

49. M. Law. Hill's Bengal in 1756-57, Vol. III, p. 175.

50. Seir Mutaqherin Vol. I, p. 718.



Purnea, caused him to be feared as much as he was detested. Men said that his star was predominant and nothing could resist him. None believed this more firmly than he himself.

We would naturally suppose that when Siraj-ur-daula made war on the English he had some great grievance against them or at least some clear motive for attacking them which everyone would have recognised at once as the fundamental cause of the war, but when we seek for this unmistakable cause we are baffled. We can read what the Nawab said, what the English said, and what the world said, but the Nawab may have been concealing his true motives, the English could not agree and the world repeated what it heard from one of the former sources.

The Nawab gave his pretexts for the war in letters to the Armenian, Coja Wajid, and Mr. Pigot the Governor of Madras. To the former he wrote:—"I have three substantial motives for extirpating the English out of my country, one that they have built strong fortifications and dug large ditch in the King's dominions contrary to the established laws of the country; The second is that they have abused the privilege of their dustucks by granting them to such as were no ways entitled to them, from which practices the King has suffered greatly in the revenues of his Customs; The third motive is that they give protection to such of the King's subjects as have by their behaviour in the employs they were entrusted with made themselves liable to be called to an account and instead of giving them up on demand they allow such persons to shelter themselves within their bounds from the hands of justice."<sup>51</sup> To Mr. Pigot he wrote:—"It was not my intention to remove the mercantile business of the Company belonging to you from out of the subah of Bengal, but Roger Drake your gomasta was a very wicked and unruly man and began to give protection to person who had accounts with the Patcha<sup>52</sup> in his koatey.<sup>53</sup> Notwithstanding all my admonitions, yet he did not desist from his shameless actions."<sup>54</sup>

Mr. Becher and the Council at Dacca stoutly maintained that the protection given by the Company to Krishna Das was the cause of the war. Governor Drake and Mr. Holwell maintained as stoutly that it had nothing to do with it. Mr. William Tooke thought that the whole affair was a trap set by the Nawab to catch the English. Mr. Manningham declared that it was impossible to give any rational account of the origin of the troubles. When he was at Murshidabad with Lord Clive a careful enquiry was made into the

51. Hill's Bengal in 1756-57.

52. Padshah, emperor.

53. House, factory.

54. Hill's Bengal in 1756-57.

motives of Siraj-ud-daula's conduct. His principal officers, the Seths and every other person from whom information was likely to be obtained were questioned without success. Mr. Scrafton, too, declared the source of Siraj-ud-daula's resentment against the English to be "one of those state mysteries that die with their authors" and adds "I have made it my study since our intercourse with the great men at court, to penetrate into the cause of this event but could never obtain anything satisfactory. . . . Perhaps it is a vain research to trace the motives of a capricious tyrant." On the other hand Mr. Becher said that Manik Chand and Jagat Seth in letters to Major Killpatrick asserted that the Nawab's anger against the English began on their protecting his subjects. These letters have been lost.<sup>55</sup>

As a matter of fact Siraj-ud-daula's anger against the English arose before he became Nawab. Like many others the English thought that a man hated as he was would never become Nawab. According to M. Law "they never addressed themselves to Siraj-ud-daula for their business in the Durbar, but on the contrary avoided all communication with him. On certain occasions they refused him admission into their factory at Cossimbazar, and their country houses, because, in fact this excessively blustering and impertinent young man used to break the furniture or, if it pleased him, take it away. But Siraj-ud-daula was not the man to forget what he regarded as an insult."<sup>56</sup> In addition Siraj-ud-daula firmly believed that the English were plotting with Ghasita Begam. He brought this charge against them fifteen days before the death of Alivardi Khan in the presence of Dr. William Forth, the surgeon of Cassimbazar and when Alivardi Khan, after enquiry, declared that he did not believe a word of what had been told him Siraj-ud-daula answered that he could prove it.<sup>57</sup> Alivardi Khan had observed with concern how prone Siraj-ud-daula was to quarrel with the English and this was one of the reasons which led him to say that after his death "the hat-men would possess themselves of all the shores of India."<sup>58</sup>

The facts about Krishna Das are these. Raj Ballabh, his father, who had been diwan of Nawazish Muhammad at Dacca, either fearing for the safety

55. Letter from Council, Dacca, to Court of Directors (Hill, Vol. I, p. 67) and to Council Fort St. George (Hill, Vol. I, p. 95). Letter from the Richard Becher to Council Fort William (Hill, Vol. II, p. 157). Holwell to Court of Directors (Hill, Vol. II, p. 7). Drake to Council, Fort William (Hill, Vol. II, p. 139, 146). Drake's Narrative (Hill, Vol. I, p. 122). William Tooke's Narrative (Hill, Vol. I, pp. 279, 280, 285). Manninghom's Evidence (Hill, Vol. III, p. 234). Becher to Council, Fort William (Hill, Vol. II, p. 160). Scrafton, Reflections on the Government, etc. of Indostan (1763), p. 55.

56. Law's Memoir (Hill, Vol. III, p. 162).

57. Dr. Wm. Forth to Drake at Fulta (Hill, Vol. II, p. 65).

58. Seir Mutaqherin, Vol. I, p. 690.

of his property or joining in a plot to entrap the English, informed Mr. Watts, the chief of the factory at Cassimbazar, that his son was going on a pilgrimage to Jagannath but as his son's wife was expecting to give birth to a child he requested Mr. Watts to obtain admission for his son into Calcutta until the latter's wife could proceed on her journey. This was done and Krishna Das arrived in Calcutta about the 16th March, 1756. Alivardi Khan died on the 9th April. About the 15th April Narayan Singh, a spy, came to Calcutta privately and in disguise, with a letter from the Nawab to the Governor demanding the surrender of Krishna Dass, his family and wealth. The Governor refused to receive a messenger coming in such a manner and turned him out of the place with disgrace. Thinking, however, that trouble might ensue he sent word of what had been done to Mr. Watts at Cassimbazar. Mr. Watts immediately wrote to some of the chief officers at the Durbar to prevent any complaint being made to the Nawab and the affair was seemingly hushed up.<sup>59</sup>

The final rupture between the Nawab and the English came about in the following manner. The Nawab's spies informed him that the English and French were fortifying their settlements of Calcutta and Chandernagore. As far as the English were concerned there was some truth in their report. As war with the French was imminent they had repaired their line of guns on the riverside, built a small redoubt at Perrin's garden on the northern boundary of the settlement and cleared out the Mahratta ditch. An octagon summer house built in the garden of a Mr. Kelsall was also reported to be a fortification. The Nawab sent a letter to the Governor ordering him to desist from carrying on any new works, to demolish the redoubt and draw-bridge at Perrin's and to fill up the ditch and immediately left Murshidabad to march against Shaukat Jung. The order arrived in Calcutta about the 10th or 12th May and Drake, without consulting his Council, at once sent a reply to Watts at Cassimbazar who was to forward it to the Nawab. Upon its arrival the vakil explained it to Watts who thought it a very proper answer and sent it on to the Nawab who was at Rajmahal. As soon as Siraj-ud-daula read the letter he became furiously angry, ordered troops to be sent against the factory at Cassimbazar and followed himself with his whole army. The factory at Cassimbazar was taken on the 2nd June.<sup>60</sup>

Drake's letter has been lost but he says that the substance of it was as

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59. Watts & Collett to Court of Directors (Hill, Vol. I, p. 100). Drake's Narrative (Hill, Vol. I, p. 120). Holwell to Court of Directors (Hill, Vol. II, p. 6), etc.

60. Watts to Council Fort William (Hill, I, 8). Drake's Narrative (Hill I 24). Tooke's Narrative (Hill I, 283). Holwell to Court of Directors (Hill II 8). Declaration by Francis Sykes (Hill I 163).

follows :—" That it gave us concern to observe that some enemies had advised his Excellency without regard to truth that we were erecting new fortifications; That for this century past we had traded in his dominions and had been protected and encouraged by the several Subahs, always having paid a due obedience to their orders, That we hoped he would not listen to any false representations, and that we depended on his favour to protect our commerce which tended to the benefit of his provinces, as we exported the produce of the ground in return for bullion brought into the country; That he must have been acquainted of the great loss our Company sustained by the capture of Madrass by the French; That there was now an appearance of another war breaking out between the French nation and ours, wherefore we were repairing our walls which were in danger of being carried away by the river and were not otherwise erecting any new works or digging any ditch."<sup>61</sup> The only explanation of the Nawab's anger is that he resented the hint that the war between the English and French would probably be brought into Bengal and regarded as an insult the insinuation that he was powerless to protest the English. Watts, however, thought that Narayan Singh might have taken this opportunity to complain to the Nawab of the treatment he had received at Calcutta.<sup>62</sup>

Whether it would have been possible to turn the Nawab from his purpose is doubtful. Messrs. Watts and Collett maintained that it would have been possible and that even when the Nawab had advanced as far as Hughli he could have been propitiated with a sum of money.<sup>63</sup> Omar Beg, one of the Nawab's officers, thought even up to the last that the Nawab merely intended to frighten the English and that all would be put right at Calcutta.<sup>64</sup> According to the Seir Mutaqherin Siraj-ud-daula treated his officers so badly that they were quite indifferent as to what might happen. Otherwise " this dispute might have been terminated by a few words in a conference, by the least of his ministers and commanders, without it becoming necessary to recur to force and to war."

On the other hand it is recorded that Siraj-ud-daula's mother, Amina Begam, tried in vain to dissuade him from marching against Calcutta. Jagat Seth Mahtab Rai and his cousin also visited Siraj-ud-daula who had taken up his quarters at the house of Mr. Collett, the second at Cassimbazar. They represented to him that the English were a colony of inoffensive and useful merchants and earnestly entreated the Nawab to moderate his resentment

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61. Drake's Narrative (Hill I 124).

62. Watts to Court of Directors (Hill III, 322).

63. Watts and Collect to Council, Fort St. George (Hill I 58).

64. Dr. Forth to Drake (Hill II 60).

against them.<sup>65</sup> Siraj-ud-daula in reply referred to the many insults he had received at the hands of the English, they had detained his subjects who had wronged him and fled to them for protection and he went on to say "I have never forgot the behaviour of one of the Chiefs here. When I came one day to their factory with my mother I sent to let them know that we wanted to come in and see it. He refused it. This has stuck by me ever since."<sup>66</sup> The remonstrances of Jagat Seth were in vain "and that none might presume to divert him from his resolution, he exacted an oath from Jagutseat (who had always acted as mediator between the government and the Europeans) not to interfere or offer any argument to make him alter his mind. After this, no one dared to plead for the unfortunate English."<sup>67</sup>

On the 9th June, Siraj-ud-daula left Cassimbazar. He arrived before Calcutta on the 16th and on the 20th the place was in his hands. Those of the defenders who escaped death either made their way to the French and Dutch settlements or took refuge with the women and children on the ships which dropped down the river to Fulta. There they anchored. Those fugitives from Calcutta who had reached Chandernagore or Hugli began to make their way to Fulta and were followed by refugees from Luckeypore, Balasore and Dacca. For nearly six months a few ships and a dwindling band of men, women and children, almost destitute of the necessaries of life, and stricken with fever, were all that remained of the flourishing settlements of the English in Bengal. Appeals to the French and Dutch for succour were unheeded for the Nawab had threatened those nations with destruction if they assisted the refugees with provisions and at first they had to rely for good on friendly inhabitants of the district who stealthily came to the ships at night. "It was a most melancholy sight," says one of the band, "to see such a number of men women and children, without a change of clothes, victuals or drink, and many obliged to be exposed to the inclemency of the weather day and night, the shipping was so much crowded."<sup>68</sup> The Governor fared no better than the rest—"no shift of linen for eight days until relieved by one of the pilots, and the deck was my bed, the comins of a hatchway my pillow, my sustenance rice half mixed with paddy, slain starved animals that hunger reduced me to eat, muddy river water for my drink."<sup>69</sup>

At the end of July Major Killpatrick arrived from Madras with about 220 men. By this time the refugees were somewhat better off with regard to provisions but on the other hand the place was becoming more and more unhealthy

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65. Orme, Vol. II, p. 58.

66. Dr. Forth to Drake (Hill II. 62).

67. Scrafton, Reflections, p. 57.

68. William Tooke's Narrative (Hill I 297).

69. Drake to Council, Fort William (Hill II, p. 144).

as the rainy season advanced. Swamps and paddy lined the banks of the river and rendered it impossible to live on shore. The men suffered more than the women. All through the rains they died daily and Major Killpatrick's detachment was almost exterminated.<sup>70</sup>

Nothing could be attempted except negotiations. On the 15th August Major Killpatrick wrote a complimentary letter to the Nawab "complaining a little of the hard usage of the English Honourable Company, assuring him of his good intentions notwithstanding what had happened and begging in the meantime, till things were cleared up, that he would treat him at least as a friend and give orders that our people may be supplied with provisions in a full and friendly manner."<sup>71</sup> On the 22nd Omichand sent Coja Petrus and Abraham Jacobs to the Major with a letter recommending him to write to Jagat Seth and others. The Major did so but Omichand "did not think it right" to forward the letters and returned them. Warren Hastings, who had remained at Cassimbazar, also thought it unnecessary to forward Major Killpatrick's letter to the Nawab. At this time there were great hopes that Shaukat Jung, the Governor of Purnea, would defeat Siraj-ud-daula and some of the principal men of Murshidabad were in correspondence with him. In any case it was an inopportune time for negotiations as the Consultations of the Secret Committee at Fulta, dated the 5th September, will show:—"Yesterday came advices from Mr. Forth of the 2nd instant that by letters from Mr. Bisdorn from Cossimbazar, of the 31st ultimo, the contents of which Mr. Bisdorn desired him to communicate, he is informed that the Nabob of Purnea was appointed by the King Nabob of Bengal; that he was joined by another considerable Raja, and that he had begun hostilities and taken about 200 boats; that upon news of this Surajed Dowla had ordered Jaffar Alli Cawn and other principal officers to march with a force to oppose him, which they did, but returned on the 29th on account of a dispute between the Nabob and Juggerseat, in which the former reproached the latter for not getting a phirmaund and then ordered him to raise from the merchants three crore of rupees, but Juggerseat pleading the hardships of his already oppressed people received a blow on the face and was confined. Jaffar Alli Cawn returning upon this went with other principal officers and insisted on Juggerseat being set at liberty, but were refused, on which they declared that they would not draw their swords in his service till he should be appointed Nabob by the King."<sup>72</sup>

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70. Major Killpatrick to Council, Fort St. George (Hill I, p. 192). Wm. Tooke's Narrative (Hill I p. 300). Hill Vol. III p. 87.

71. Select Committee Proceedings at Fulta (Hill I, 204).

72. Consultations of Secret Committee at Fulta (Long's Unpublished Records 75, 76, 77).

Subsequently the correspondence was resumed apparently without the intervention of Omichand for Coja Petrus delivered the letters to the agents of Jagat Seth and Coja Wazid at Hugli. He returned with satisfactory answers to Major Killpatrick. Until the arrival of Admiral Watson and Clive the English were freed from all fear of hostility or molestation from the Nawab's troops at Calcutta.<sup>73</sup> The English at Fulta seem to have been dissatisfied with the efforts made by Coja Wazid on their behalf for on the 23rd November the Council directed Major Killpatrick to write to Jagat Seth assuring him "that their dependence was upon him and upon him alone, for the hopes they had of resettling in an amicable manner."<sup>74</sup>

In truth there was never any hope of resettling at Calcutta except on such terms as (Mr. Watts hoped) Englishmen would never consent to.<sup>75</sup> Siraj-ud-daula had defeated Shaukat Jung and his belief in his star was at its highest pitch. The English were never mentioned at the Court of Murshidabad but with pity or contempt.<sup>76</sup> "A pair of slippers," said Siraj-ud-daula, "is all that is needed to govern them." He thought that their whole number in all Europe could not exceed ten or twelve thousand men and never imagined they would entertain the idea of re-establishing themselves by force. He expected them to come to him with a sum of money in one hand and the other held out to receive thankfully whatever he was pleased to give them.<sup>77</sup> The English, on the other hand, recognised that the immediate possession of Calcutta was useless to them for it was neither advisable nor safe to trust any of the Company's property there until they had a force sufficient to defend it against the Nawab. Accordingly Major Killpatrick acknowledged that the negotiations had answered almost all their intentions. They gained time and were supplied with provisions while they were obliged to remain inactive.<sup>78</sup> The correspondence went on until the arrival of the King's ships. On the 11th December Dr. William Forth at Chinsura informed the Council at Fulta that Jagat Seth and Omichand were still endeavouring to make up matters and at the same time he acknowledged the receipt of a letter from the Secretary of the Council with which were enclosed two letters for Jagat Seth.<sup>79</sup> Four days later, Admiral Watson and Clive arrived at Fulta and the negotiations were interrupted for a time.

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73. Petrus to Court of Directors (Hill III 365).

74. Consultations at Fulta (Long's Unpublished Records, p. 81).

75. Watts and Collett to Council at Fulta (Hill I, p. 61).

76. Warren Hastings to Council at Fulta (Long's Unpublished Records, p. 78).

77. Law's Memoir (Hill III 176).

78. Major Killpatrick to court of Directors (Hill II, 164).

79. Hill Vol. II 54.

But not for long. The Council of Fort St. George clearly defined the aim of the expedition which they despatched to Bengal under Clive and Watson. "We could not have resolved to engage our Honourable Masters in the vast expense of fitting out this armament," they said, "but with the hopes of obtaining equivalent advantages. The mere retaking of Calcutta should we think by no means be the end of this undertaking; not only their Settlements and factories should be restored but all their privileges established in the full extent granted by the Great Mogul, and ample reparation made to them for the loss they have lately sustained; otherwise we are of opinion it would have been better nothing had been attempted, than to have added the heavy charge of this armament to their former loss, without securing their colonies and trade from future insults and exactions.

"Should the Nabob on the news of the arrival of these forces, make offers tending to the acquiring to the Company the before mentioned advantages, rather than risque the success of a war, we think that sentiments of revenging injuries, although they were never more just, should give place to the necessity of sparing as far as possible the many bad consequences of war besides the expense of the Company's treasures, but we are of opinion that the sword should go in hand with the pen, and that on the arrival of the present armament, hostilities should immediately commence with the utmost vigour. These hostilities must be of every kind which can either distress his dominions and estate or being reprizals into our possession. We have directed Colonel Clive to apply to you, gentlemen, for a plan of such a treaty as you would recommend to be made with the Nabob."<sup>80</sup>

The sword and the pen were to go hand in hand but the power of the sword had to be displayed first for the Nawab returned no answer when Clive, on behalf of the Company, and Watson, in the name of the King, demanded the restoration of Calcutta and satisfaction for all the losses the Company had sustained. On the 29th December Manik Chand, the Governor of Calcutta, was defeated in a skirmish at Budge Budge and fled with a bullet hole through his turban. On the 2nd January, 1757 Calcutta was recaptured and its defenders fled. Some of them did not stop till they reached Murshidabad where Manik Chand assured the Nawab that the English who had just come were a very different kind of men from those whom he had beaten at Calcutta a few months before.<sup>81</sup> On the 10th Hugli was captured and destroyed to strike terror into the Nawab's troops and to encourage malcontents to side with the English.

80. Select Committee Fort St. George to Select Committee, Fort William (Hill I, 239.)

81. Law's Memoir (Hill III 179).



The pen, meanwhile, had not been idle. Probably before the capture of Hugli Clive had written to Jagat Seth and Coja Wazid—to the former as one who had served the English well at Fulta, to the latter because he was reputed to be the confidential agent of the Nawab in his dealings with Europeans. These letters have not been preserved but we have Jagat Seth's reply. It is dated the 14th January, 1757, and runs thus:—

“Your favour I have with great pleasure received and give due attention to the contents. You are pleased to say that the Nabob listens to what I may recommend, and hope I will exert myself for your good and the general benefit of the country. My business is that of a merchant, and probably what I may recommend that way he may give ear to. You have acted the very reverse part, and possessed yourselves of Calcutta by force, after which you have taken and destroyed the city of Hughley, and by all appearances you seem to have no design but that of fighting. In what manner then can I introduce an application for accommodating matters between the Nabob and you? What your intentions are it is impossible to find out by these acts of hostility. Put a stop to this conduct and let me know what your demands are. You may then depend upon it I will use my interest with the Nabob to finish these troubles. How can you expect that the Nabob will pass by or overlook your conduct in pretending to take up arms against the Prince or Subah of the country. Weigh this within yourself.”<sup>82</sup>

Coja Wajid replied on the 17th January, to the effect that out of a particular regard for the English Company he had desired M. Renault, the Governor of Chandernagore, to accommodate matters between the Nawab and the English.<sup>83</sup> It was thought that these letters were written by the Nawab's order. They were sent to the Governor of Chandernagore who despatched two of his Council with them and at the same time offered his mediation.<sup>84</sup>

On the 21st January Clive replied to both letters. To Jagat Seth Mahtab Rai and Maharaja Swarup Chand he wrote as follows:—

“I have received the letter which you did me the honour to write and have communicated the contents to the Governor and Council of Calcutta.

It is with great pleasure I find you so ready to make use of your interest with the Nawab to come into terms of accommodation, and to settle the troubles of this country. It would be but repeating to you what you have heard from all mouths, the devastation and ruin committed by Seraja Dowla on the English. It would be unfolding a tale too horrible to repeat if I was to relate

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82. Hill Vol. II, 104.

83. Hill, Vol. II, 110.

84. Clive to Select Committee, Fort St. George, (Hill II, 175).

to you the horrid cruelties and barbarities inflicted upon an unfortunate people to whom the Nabob in a great part owes the riches and grandeur of his province. No less than 120 people, the greatest part of them gentlemen of family and distinction, being put to an ignominious death in one night and in such a manner as was quite inconsistent with the character of a man of courage or humanity, such I have always heard the Nabob represented to be, and for this reason I believe it must have been done without his knowledge. Under these circumstances how can you except we should any longer defer our resentment. Did we not send many letters to the Nabob in expectation that he would have sent answers thereto and complied with our just demands? Did we not wait many days at Fulta without committing any hostilities? Did not the Governor of Budgbudge first declare war against the English by firing on the King's ships? What could we do but resent such treatment! Notwithstanding these just reasons of complaint you will find us ready to conclude such a Peace as I think both for the interest of the Nabob and of the Company, to which purpose I send you enclosed the proposals on which we are willing to treat. As you are a man of sense, you will easily see the justice of our demands, and use your interest with the Nabob to induce him to comply with them. In so doing you will get the name of a patriot and prevent the country from being made a scene of ruin and destruction. You should consider that the English are a great nation, and that a King reigns over them not inferior in power to the Padsha himself. What resentment will not his Imperial Majesty express when he comes to hear of the death of so many of his faithful subjects? You should consider likewise that the great Commander of His Majesty's ships is sent to represent him in person, and that I have the same power, as the King of England's officer, and have my commission signed by his own hand. I hope you will not think me vain in telling you that we have had as powerful enemies as the Nabob to deal with upon the Coast of Coromandel and been attended with success; the like may happen here. However I hope the Nabob will not reduce us to the cruel necessity of trying our strength, for after all success depends upon God alone, who will aid and assist the injured."<sup>85</sup>

In his letter to Coja Wajid Clive refused to accept the intervention of the French. "Your integrity and friendship," he said, "I can rely on and beg that you and the Seats will be mediators between the Nabob and us."<sup>86</sup> Britain and France were at open war and Clive did not think it fit to entrust the affairs of the Company to declared enemies, who would, besides, have gained great prestige in Bengal at the expense of the English if a peace had been con-

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85. Hill II, 124.

86. Hill II, 125.

cluded through their mediation.<sup>87</sup> Coja Wajid does not appear to have taken any further part in the negotiations.

According to Orme the Nawab was so exasperated at the attack on Hugli that the Seths were afraid to appear as friends to the English but deputed their ablest agent, Ranjit Rai, to attend the Nawab on his second march against Calcutta and ordered him to correspond with Clive. Through the whole course of the negotiations which ensued Ranjit Rai acted on behalf of the Company and was mainly responsible for the treaty which brought the negotiations to a close.

On the 25th January Clive thought that the Nawab was earnestly desirous of peace and hoped, in the near future, to be able to return to Madras with the prospect of "a slap at Bussy" on the way,<sup>88</sup> but on the 1st February he began to have misgivings. The Nawab with an army of 30,000 men advanced steadily nearer<sup>89</sup> and on the 4th Messrs. Walsh and Scrafton who had been sent to the Nawab at his own request, instead of finding him twenty miles off at Nawabgunge as they expected, found him at Omichand's garden within the boundaries of Calcutta. The reception of the envoys, too, was so unsatisfactory that Clive resolved on an immediate attack. At 6 o'clock in the morning of the 5th he entered the Nawab's camp in the midst of a thick fog. Clive expected this to clear off by 8 but instead of doing so it became thicker, the troops missed their way and so the action was indecisive. However the Nawab lost 1,300 men, five or six hundred horse with four elephants and decamped to Dumdum. The result of the blow can be seen in the following letter which Ranjit Rai sent Clive the next day.<sup>90</sup>

"I thought that the English were always faithful to their words and agreements, for which reason I interposed with the Nabob in your affairs and dismissed your deputies who could not properly settle the business they came upon. Therefore I wrote you desiring that you would send a paper containing your demands which I would prevail on the Nabob to sign. The Nabob agrees to give you back Calcutta with all the privileges of your phirmaund and whatever goods you lost at Cossimbazar or elsewhere, and will grant you permission to coin siccas in your mint at Calcutta or Allenagur, and that you may make what fortifications you please in Calcutta. Your conduct yesterday morning greatly amazed me and put me to shame before the Nabob. What passed between the Nabob and myself Coja Petruse will inform you; what has happened will cause no difference in this affair. If you want to accommodate matters

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87. Clive to Select Committee, Fort St. George (Hill II, 175).

88. Clive to Pigot (Hill II, 133).

89. Clive to Secret Committee, London (Hill II, 206).

90. Clive to Secret Committee, London (Hill II, 237) and to his father (Hill II, 242).

send a letter to the Nabob with your proposals, and I will get them signed and send them back to you, with a sirpah, elephant and jewels. After this the Nabob will decamp and march to Muxadavad. If you think war necessary acquaint me seriously with your intentions, and I will acquit myself of any further trouble in this affair."<sup>91</sup>

Ranjit Rai had seized the favourable moment. There seems no doubt that Siraj-ud-daula was extremely reluctant to sign a treaty and all the evidence shows that he detested the treaty as soon as he signed it. Ranjit Rai is clearly anxious to impress upon Clive the necessity of coming to terms at once and no doubt Coja Petrus put this still more forcibly when he related to Clive what had happened between Ranjit Rai and the Nawab. Clive did not hesitate for a moment. He knew that if Siraj-ud-daula retreated (as M. Law maintained he ought to have done) he had neither the time nor the means of forcing him to come to terms.<sup>92</sup> He knew further that the delay of even a day or two might have ruined the Company's affairs, for the French were on the very point of joining the Nawab.<sup>93</sup>

The articles of peace were forwarded but the Nawab proposed to sign them in an evasive manner. A second copy was sent with a peremptory letter from Clive and these were signed on the 9th February. On the 16th Clive wrote to Jagat Seth Mahtab Rai and Maharaja Swarup Chand:—"Omichand has acquainted me that you sent Lalla Rungeet Roy to attend his Excellency the Nabob for the procuring the peace of the country and the re-establishment of the Company's business and in all my proceedings I have never acted without his advice. The treaty has been agreed to and ratified on both sides in the most solemn manner. The signal kindness which you have shown in your endeavours to restore the currency of the Company's trade I have made particular mention of in my letters to Europe."<sup>94</sup>

When Siraj-ud-daula returned to Murshidabad after the conclusion of the peace he changed completely his attitude towards the Seths. Hitherto his belief in his star had been so overweening that he never imagined that the bankers were necessary to him. He had treated them with disrespect and even with violence. But the skirmish at Budge-Budge, the re-capture of Calcutta, the attack on his camp, the reckless bravery of Watson's sailors and above all the big guns of the ships had caused a feeling of abject fear to succeed his former feelings of contempt for the English and the fact that the English would

91. Hill II, 213.

92. Messrs. Clive, Killpatrick, etc., to Select Committee, Fort William (Hill II, 223).

93. Clive to Mr. Payne, Chairman of Court of Directors, (Hill II, 244).

94. Hill II, 224.

have no one but the Seths as mediators had taught him that they were men to be reckoned with. They had become, says Law, sponsors, as it were, for the conduct both of the Nawab and the English. And so, from the conclusion of the peace, instead of treating the Seths with disrespect he was extremely polite to them, instead of blows and imprisonment they received acts of kindness and instead of ignoring them he consulted them in everything. The Seths were not deceived by this. They knew that Siraj-ud-daula hated the English, and that the treaty which fear had compelled him to make with them filled him with feelings of humiliation and indignation. They argued that he must necessarily hate those by whose instrumentality the treaty had been concluded. By bribing those who had access to the Nawab and to whom he disclosed his inmost thoughts, their worst fears were confirmed. They found that the change in Siraj-ud-daula's conduct towards them was a hollow sham and that in his heart he had resolved upon their destruction.<sup>95</sup>

Siraj-ud-daula might have taken warning from the fate of Sarfaraz Khan. Even without the assistance of the Europeans the Seths could have formed a party and placed another Nawab on the throne but that would have taken much time and was fraught with danger.<sup>96</sup> It is impossible to say whether they joined the party at Murshidabad which had supported Shaukat Jung, the Nawab of Purnea, in the previous year. The absence of any evidence on the point in the *Seir Mutaqherin* renders it unlikely that they did for the author of that history was in the service of Shaukat Jung at the time and saw the letters which were received from Murshidabad. The character of Shaukat Jung given by the author of the *Seir Mutaqherin* also renders it unlikely that he would have been acceptable to the Seths who could hardly have considered him an improvement on Siraj-ud-daula. But so intense was the longing for a change that Shaukat Jung, bad as he was, would in all probability have succeeded in his attempt on the Government had he not ruined his chances by his own folly. M. Law looked back with regret to the chance the French had missed at this period. Three or four hundred Europeans, with a few sepoy, combined with the enemies of Siraj-ud-daula, would have sufficed to place a Nawab on the throne who would have been "to the taste of the house of Jagat Seth and the chief Moors and Rajas." They let the chance slip and "the rash valour of the young Nawab of Purneah, in delivering Siraj-ud-daula from the only enemy he had to fear in the country, made it clear to all Bengal that the English were the only power which could bring about the change that every one was longing for."<sup>97</sup> To no one was this clearer than the Seths for no one had

95. Law's Memoir (Hill, III, 185).

96. Law's Memoir (Hill, III, 175).

97. Law's Memoir (Hill, III, 173).

as good a knowledge of the English as they. But at this time the English were helpless at Fulta and the Seths had to bide their time. Their time came with the conclusion of the treaty between Siraj-ud-daula and the English. They knew Siraj-ud-daula's hatred towards the English and that a rupture between them was inevitable sooner or later. His secret but deep resentment towards themselves as the friends of the English caused them to discard the timidity which was natural to them and to do all in their power to hasten this rupture. The path which led to Plassey and all that Plassey was destined to mean in the future had its beginning in Murshidabad and not in Calcutta and it was the Seths, who more than anyone else, placed the feet of the English in that path.

The influence of the Seths at Murshidabad was steadily exerted on the side of the English in the struggle with the French which followed the conclusion of the treaty with the Nawab. On the 12th November 1756 the news reached Madras that war had been declared between England and France and the Council immediately wrote to Admiral Watson urging him to attack Chandernagore if he found such a measure practicable.<sup>98</sup> The letter was received in Calcutta on the 13th January, 1757, but an attack on Chandernagore was impossible for the result would have been an immediate alliance between the French and the Nawab and the English were not strong enough to cope with such a combination.<sup>99</sup> Proposals for a neutrality in Bengal between the two nations had already been received from the French and negotiations on this basis proceeded in a desultory fashion throughout January but on February, 9th, the date on which the treaty with the Nawab was signed, nothing had been settled. The English, therefore, were free to attack Chandernagore and Clive wished to do so at once. Ranjit Rai was sounded on the matter when he came to Clive with presents from the Nawab on the conclusion of the treaty but Clive received no encouragement from him.<sup>100</sup> He was, no doubt, thinking of the money which the French owed to the house of Jagat Seth and Watts also imagined that this would prevent the Seths from supporting the English.<sup>101</sup> Otherwise everything looked promising. The Nawab had declared in his letters that the enemies of the English would be his enemies and Omichand, who had accompanied Mr. Watts back to Murshidabad, brought a verbal message from the Nawab which Clive construed to be, in some measure, a permission to attack the French.<sup>102</sup> But just as Clive was about to begin his march

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98. Select Committee, Fort St. George to Admiral Watson (Hill, I, 301).

99. Hill, Vol. I, Introduction clv.

100. Clive to Secret Committee, London (Hill, II, 240).

101. Watts to Clive (Hill, II, 229).

102. Clive to Secret Committee, London, (Hill, II, 240).

against Chandernagore he received letters from the Nawab absolutely forbidding hostilities against the French, and declaring that he would assist them with all his force if they were attacked.<sup>103</sup> At the same time the Governor and Council of Chandernagore renewed their proposals for a neutrality in Bengal and the Select Committee at Calcutta thought it advisable to accede to these proposals rather than risk a rupture with the Nawab. A treaty was drawn up by the Committee and, on the 3rd March everything seemed to be settled when, at the last moment, Admiral Watson refused to agree to any neutrality until the articles of the treaty had been ratified by the French Council at Pondicherry and the whole proposal fell to the ground.<sup>104</sup>

Murshidabad again became the centre of interest to English and French alike. Mr. Watts was there urging the Nawab to break with the French. Clive and Watson were sending letters to the same end and the Admiral was, besides, speaking in alarmingly plain language about the fulfilment of the treaty the Nawab had made with the English. On the other side M. Law was pressing the Nawab to ward off the threatened attack of the English on the French by sending reinforcements to Chandernagore. Let M. Law himself tell the tale of what followed:—

“I used to go punctually every day to the Durbar, and I always left it with the most favourable answers. The Nawab gave the most formal orders in my presence and so I counted on a prompt and powerful reinforcement. The Nawab wrote many letters both to the Admiral and to Colonel Clive to persuade them not to attack us. “The wish of the Emperor,” he said to them, “is that foreigners should not make war in his country. I am bound to hinder such troubles. If you attack the French I shall be obliged to oppose you.” He received several replies. In some they seemed inclined to obey him, in others they were undecided; others again were decisive, they spoke as his masters; they summoned the Nawab to keep his word; they referred him to the treaty of Calcutta in which it was said the Nawab would regard as his enemies all those of the English. The mere mention of this treaty made the Nawab indignant and at the same time made him tremble at the experience he had of the superiority of the English arms. The English knew his weakness and made use of it.

In spite of this the reinforcements were ready to start, the soldiers had been paid, the commandant waited only for his marching orders. I went to see him and promised him a large sum if he succeeded in raising the siege of Chandernagore. I also visited several of the chief officers, to whom I promised

103. Nawab to Admiral Watson (Hill, Vol. II, p. 230).

104. Clive to Secret Committee London (Hill, Vol. II, p. 240). Drafts of treaty (Hill, Vol. II, pp. 259–263). Clive to Select Committee, Fort St. George (Hill, Vol. II, p. 266).

rewards proportionate to their rank. I represented to the Nawab that the siege was inevitable if the reinforcements did not set out at once, and I tried to persuade him to send off the commandant in my presence. All is ready, replied the Nawab, but before resorting to arms we should try all possible means to avoid a rupture, and all the more so as the English have just promised to obey the orders I shall send them. I recognised the Seths in these. They encouraged the Nawab in a false impression about this affair. On the one hand they assured him that the march of the English was only to frighten us and to make us subscribe to the treaty of neutrality, on the other hand they augmented his natural timidity by exaggerating the English forces, by representing the risk he himself ran in giving us reinforcements which possibly would not suffice to prevent the capture of Chandernagore if the English were determined to besiege it, and that this would also furnish an excuse for them to attack him. They managed so well that they undid in the evening all that I had effected in the morning.

I resolved to visit the bankers. They immediately started talking about our debts, calling my attention to the want of punctuality in our payments. I told them that was not the question just now, that I came to them upon a much more interesting subject which concerned them as well as us in respect to those very debts for which they were asking payment and security. I asked them why they supported the English against us. They assured me of the contrary, and, after much explanation, they promised to make any suggestions I might wish to the Nawab. They added moreover that they were quite sure the English would not attack us, and that I might remain tranquil. Knowing that they were well acquainted with the designs of the English I told them I knew as well as they did what these were, that I saw no way of preventing them from attacking Chandernagore except to hasten the march of the reinforcements which the Nawab had promised, and that as they were disposed to serve us I begged them to make the Nawab understand the same. They replied that the intention of the Nawab was to avoid any rupture with the English, and said many other things the only result of which was to make me see that in spite of their good will they would do nothing for us. Ranjit Rai, who was their man of business as well as the Agent of the English, said to me in a mocking tone "You are a Frenchman, are you afraid of the English? If they attack you, defend yourselves. No one is ignorant of what your nation has done on the (Coromandel) Coast. We are curious to see how you will get out of this business here." I told him I did not expect to find such a warlike person in a Bengali merchant, and that sometimes people had reason to repent of their curiosity. That was enough for such a fellow, but I saw clearly that the laughers would not be on my side. However the Seths were very polite and I left the house.



The conduct of the Seths was natural. They had everything to fear from Siraj-ud-daula, consequently they needed another Nawab, but the enterprise was difficult without as a preliminary destroying us or at least tying our hands. On the other hand we owed them a great deal of money; it was therefore natural that they should be disquieted at seeing the English march against Chandernagore. For which reason I am much inclined to believe at first that their threats were only to frighten us and to force us to conclude the treaty which they wanted. I remember a somewhat singular incident of this visit which confirms the truth of this idea. The conversation having turned on Siraj-ud-daula, on the reasons to fear him which he had given us as well as the Seths, and on his violent character, I said I understood clearly enough what they meant, that they certainly wanted to make another Nawab. The Seths instead of denying it contented themselves with saying in a low tone that that was a thing which ought not to be talked about. Omichand, the English Agent, and who by the way cried "Away with them" wherever he went, was present. If the fact had been false, the Seths would certainly have denied it and would have reproached me for talking in such a way. If the Seths had even thought it was my intention to thwart them, they would also have denied it; but these bankers, considering everything that had happened, the vexations caused us by the Nawab, and our obstinate refusal to help him, imagined that we also should be as satisfied as they were to see him deposed, provided only the English would leave us in peace. The Seths accordingly did not as yet regard us as enemies, and might well be speaking in good faith when they said the English would not attack us. But when hostilities were once commenced what were the Seths to do? To quarrel with the English was to ruin themselves. Was it difficult for the English to make them see their own interest in the capture of Chandernagore, to make them understand that when the great blow had been struck and the new Nawab enthroned we might be re-established? What hindered them besides from taking the debt on themselves (the English) if such an arrangement was necessary?"<sup>105</sup>

Law's narrative of his personal experiences may be taken as substantially accurate but the conclusions he draws from his facts are singularly unconvincing, in fact inconsistent with his own statements. That the Seths feared the Nawab and wished, like many others at Murshidabad, to remove him was true. That they had to face a possible loss of over Pound 100,000 if the French were ruined was also true. On the other hand, if they desired a revolution, as they did, they must, as men of business, have been prepared to pay the price. If they had organised a revolution themselves, without the aid of the English, it

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105. Law's Memoir (Hill, Vol. III, pp. 191-194).

would have been a costly and dangerous business, while if they looked to the English for help, as no doubt they did, they had to recognise the fact that the ruin of the French was an absolutely necessary preliminary measure. Law's supposition that the English induced the Seths to believe that they merely intended to frighten the French into signing the treaty of neutrality is incredible. Clive had meant serious business from the first and had never attempted to conceal the fact, least of all from the Nawab. In February he informed the Nawab that if he had not been ordered to desist from attacking the French he would have taken Chandernagore in two days.<sup>106</sup> The Nawab's prohibition alone forced the English to agree to a neutrality and the proposals for this came from the French.

The Seths were perfectly aware of the true facts. Hence, to consider the possibility of a quarrel between them and the English on the outbreak of hostilities is futile. It is accusing the Seths of not foreseeing the palpable consequences of their own acts. If they had been so much concerned for their money, instead of thwarting Law in every way, as he says they did, they would have hurried on the reinforcements and strengthened the French by every means in their power. Further, when Law speaks of an understanding between the Seths and the English, based on the enthronement of a new Nawab, he is anticipating events by some weeks. If such an understanding existed at that time then Admiral Watson's assertion about the sacredness of his word was an idle boast, no trust can be placed in records, and the compilation of history is a delusion and a snare. The Seths were deceiving Law just as Law deceived the Nawab and the English when necessary, and just as the English, with the exception of Admiral Watson, deceived those whom it was necessary to deceive. The standard of conduct among the men of that time was not high where politics were concerned.

It is strange how Law missed the true inwardness of the "singular incident" that occurred during his interview with the Seths. The next morning he learned how powerless he really was to thwart the Seths for when he saw the Nawab and acquainted him with the plot that was being hatched against him "the poor young man began to laugh, being unable to imagine that I could be so silly as to indulge in such ideas."<sup>107</sup> As Law entered into details he, no doubt, implicated the Seths. The fact was that the fate of the French was sealed and the Seths knew it. Whatever may have been the true feelings of Siraj-ud-daula towards the Seths he continued to consult them. Apart from

106. Clive to the Nawab. "I could have taken the Fort in two days. Your Excellency forbidding me to do it after everything was in readiness has put me to great shame" (Hill, II, 236).

107. Law's Memoir (Hill, III, 194).

that men who, according to Law, could find out the secret intentions of the Nawab towards them must have known that Siraj-ud-daula had been pondering for two or three days how he should reply to a letter from Admiral Watson which concluded thus:—"It is now time to speak plain, if you are really desirous of preserving your country in peace and your subjects from misery and ruin, in ten days from the date of this, fulfil your part of the treaty in every Article, that I may not have the least cause of complaint: otherwise, remember, you must answer for the consequences: and as I have always acted the open, unreserved part in all my dealings with you, I now acquaint you that the remainder of the troops, which should have been here long since (and which I hear the Colonel told you he expected) will be at Calcutta in a few days that in a few days more I shall dispatch a vessel for more ships and more troops; and that I will kindle such a flame in your country, as all the water in the Ganges shall not be able to extinguish. Farewel: remember that he promises you this, who never yet broke his word with you or with any man whatsoever."<sup>108</sup> The Seths knew also that while Law was talking to them Clive was actually in the neighbourhood of Chandernagore waiting and hoping for a letter from the Nawab authorising him to commence hostilities.<sup>109</sup>

The end came on the day after Law's interview with the Seths. In the evening a discussion took place in the Nawab's presence between Watts and Law on the question of a neutrality and the Nawab decided to write to the Admiral. Law indiscreetly remarked that the Admiral would certainly not pay more attention to this letter than to the preceding ones. "What!" said the Nawab, looking angrily at him, "who then am I?"<sup>110</sup> The wound to his vanity was the last straw. He ordered his Secretary to write to the Admiral. The Secretary was in the pay of Mr. Watts and wrote the letter immediately. It was brought to the Nawab, sealed and despatched. The last paragraph of this letter ran as follows:—"You have understanding and generosity: if your enemy with an upright heart claims your protection, you will give him his life but then you must be well satisfied of the innocence of his intentions; if not, whatever you think right, that do."<sup>112</sup> At the same time Mr. Watts wrote to the Select Committee expressly stating that the Nawab had desired him to inform them that if they were determined to attack the French he would not in-

108. Admiral Watson to the Nawab, 4th March, (Hill, II, 273).

109. Clive to the Nawab, 7th March, (Hill, II, 274). "By the time you receive this letter, I shall be as far on my way as Chandernagore, where I will wait without committing any hostilities against the French, till I receive your letter, which I hope will be satisfactory."

110. Law's Memoir, (Hill, III, 195).

111. Hill Vol. I, Introduction, clxii.

112. The Nawab to Admiral Watson, 10th March, (Hill, Vol. II, p. 279).

termeddle or give the French the least assistance.<sup>113</sup> These two letters were dated the 10th March. On the 14th Clive attacked Chandernagore and on the 23rd it capitulated.

In the weeks which followed we can trace two parties in Bengal with, at first, two distinct aims. There were, first, the English, who were pressing Siraj-ud-daula to carry out all the articles of the treaty of the 9th February and trying to obtain further concessions not included in the treaty. Above all, they were determined to stamp out the power of the French in Bengal which, now that Chandernagore had fallen, was practically represented by M. Law and his Frenchmen at Cassimbazar. The steady pressure brought to bear upon Siraj-ud-daula to effect this can be indicated by two extracts from letters written to the Nawab by Clive and Watson. "There wants nothing to fix the peace of your kingdom," writes the former, "but that you would deliver up to us the French with their effects, wherever they are to be found in your dominions; for remember my words Sir, let them take deep root in your mind, that whenever there are two such powerful peoples, the peace of your country cannot be lasting."<sup>114</sup> The latter writes, "I have already told you, and now repeat it again, that while a Frenchman remains in this kingdom I will never cease pursuing him." For three weeks Siraj-ud-daula held out but at length, says Law, "the redoubled threats of the English supported by the representations of the Seths, brought about what I never had never expected, I was never more surprised in my life than when, instead of seeing any result from the fine promises of the Nawab, I received his orders to leave the country quickly unless I preferred to surrender to the English."<sup>116</sup> Law left Cossimbazar on the 16th April, but to the great indignation of the English he was allowed to go to Patna.

The other party was composed of all those whom Siraj-ud-daula had alienated by his insolence, his violence and his tyranny. It comprised all the chief men of his court with the exception of those worthless favourites whom Siraj-ud-daula had made his chief ministers "a set of low rascally fellows who never look further in the advice they give him than for their immediate pecuniary advantage."<sup>117</sup> At the head of the party were Mir Jafar, Rai Durlabh Ram and the Seths. Before the fall of Chandernagore we read that Mir Jafar

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113. "The Nawab said he could not write, but desired I would inform you that if you was determined to attack the French, he would not intermeddle or give them the last assistance, he only requests to be informed of your sentiments three or four days before you begin upon action." Watts to Select Committee, 10th March, (Hill, Vol. II, p. 278).

114. Clive to the Nawab, (Hill, Vol. II, p. 305).

115. Admiral Watson to the Nawab, (Hill, Vol. II, p. 345).

116. Law's Memoir, (Hill, Vol. III, p. 602).

117. Scrafton to Walsh, (Hill, Vol. III, p. 342).

absented himself from court and lived retired in his own house.<sup>118</sup> This gave rise to suspicion in the mind of Siraj-ud-daula who, at times, was anxious to be reconciled to his chief general and at times allowed his anger and resentment full sway. On one occasion he had gone so far as to point cannon against the house of Mir Jafar. But it will appear from the history of the plot that Mir Jafar had not yet consented to take active measures in overthrowing the house of Alivardi Khan and did not at first, agree to the proposals of the Seths who wished him to replace Siraj-ud-daula as Nawab. Durlabh Ram was indignant at the superiority manifested by Mohan Lal. The causes of the enmity of the Seths towards Siraj-ud-daula have been sufficiently explained. This was the party that, by inciting the English to a rupture with Siraj-ud-daula, brought about his downfall and the efforts of the Seths were mainly responsible for effecting this result. They, according to M. Law, were the originators of the revolution and their support was a great factor in the success of the English.<sup>119</sup>

The records of the time and the testimony of historians all go to prove that the plot against Siraj-ud-daula had its origin in Murshidabad and not in Calcutta, that Clive was invited to save the people of Bengal from the tyranny of Siraj-ud-daula just as William of Orange was invited to save the English from the tyranny of James II and that the English came as saviours and not as aggressors. At the time of the fall of Chandernagore there is no evidence that the English had ever entertained the thought of dethroning Siraj-ud-daula. On the contrary Clive hoped that the capture of that place would attach the Nawab more firmly to the English and thought that it had really done so.<sup>120</sup> On the 30th March he wrote to the Nawab "I once more swear by the God that made me, that I will be true to all that I have promised, and that I have nothing more at heart than the friendship between Your Excellency and the English may last for ever,"<sup>121</sup> and again on the 10th April, "I further call upon Your Excellency in the most sincere manner to put an entire confidence in the English and to believe that they will never forsake you."<sup>122</sup> As late as April 19th Admiral Watson wrote, "Let me again repeat to you, I have no further views than that of peace. The gathering together of riches is what I despise; and I call on God, who sees and knows the spring of all our actions

118. Seir Mutaqherin, Vol. I, p. 753.

119.. "They are, I can affirm, the originators of the revolution: without them the English would never have carried out what they have." (Law's Memoir, Hill, Vol. III, p. 185).

120. "I am in hopes this last stroke will fix him." Clive to Pigot, (Hill, II, 303). "I have the pleasure to acquaint you that the Nabob has wrote me a letter of congratulation on our success; and that this enterprise, so far from enraging him, has served to attach him more firmly to us." Clive to Select Committee, Fort St. George (Hill, Vol. II, p. 307).

121. Hill, Vol. II, p. 305.

122. Hill, Vol. II, p. 321.

and to whom you and I must one day answer, to witness to the truth of what I now write."<sup>123</sup> It is certain that on that date Admiral Watson had no knowledge of any plot against Siraj-ud-daula. A few days later he heard from Clive what was going on and wrote no more to the Nawab.<sup>124</sup>

Meanwhile the Seths had not been idle. On the one hand, says Law, they were exciting Siraj-ud-daula against the English. They expressed the greatest indignation at the demands the English were making whenever Siraj-ud-daula consulted them on the subject and urged him not to grant them. On the other hand they were continually pointing out to the English that the Nawab was insincere in all his dealings with them and would attack them at the first favourable opportunity. At times the Seths found themselves in a critical position. On one occasion, says Law, "in reference to certain demands it was necessary to show the Nawab a paper with the Seths' seal to prove to him that he had agreed to grant them. The Nawab in a rage declared that it had never been his intention to engage himself so far and accused the Seths of having betrayed him. The latter frightened at the storm threw the whole fault on their agent. The notorious Ranjit Rai was driven in disgrace from the Durbar, banished,<sup>125</sup> and assassinated on the road. It was said he had received two lakhs from the English to apply his masters' seal unknown to them. I can hardly believe this, this Agent was attached to the English only because he knew the Seths were devoted to them."<sup>126</sup>

How this atmosphere of mutual suspicion and intrigue gradually led the English to join the plot can be learnt from the correspondence of Watts and Scrafton. It should be borne in mind that Watts was the accredited representative of the English at the Nawab's court. With him was Omichand, who was at this time high in the favour of Watts for his apparent zeal in the cause of the English. Scrafton was at Murshidabad in connection with the affairs of the Dacca factory and had been instructed by Clive to observe how matters were going on while he remained there. He corresponded with Mr. Walsh who deciphered his letters and passed them on to Clive, but this correspondence was in no sense official and the whole responsibility of the affairs of the English rested with Watts. It should be borne in mind, too, that Chandernagore fell on the 23rd March, that from that date the English were exerting every effort to induce the Nawab to expel the French and that M. Law left Cassimbazar on the 16th April.

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123. Hill, Vol. II, p. 346.

124. Clive to Admiral Watson, (Hill, Vol. II, p. 362).

125. This is a mistake. Ranjit Rai was alive after the battle of Plassey.

126. Law's Memoir (Hill, III, 208).

127. Orme, Vol. II, p. 148. Scrafton to Walsh, (Hill, Vol. II, p. 352).

On the 5th April Watts requested Clive to write to Jagat Seth and desire him to send his gomastah to Calcutta and order another gomastah named Baijnath to Hugli, "assuring Juggutseat Bigenaut may reside there with the utmost security and safety, that you have some little complaints to make against him, wherein in some affairs you think he has not acted altogether rightly, but when he, Judggutseat, is acquainted with them you do not doubt but that they will be immediately rectified." After the capture of Calcutta Baijnath had bought a quantity of goods belonging to the Company from the plunderers at half price. Watts promised to send particulars to Clive if he could obtain them and then he says "I think we may ask, though not demand, the difference between the price he bought those goods at and their real value."<sup>128</sup> It is not clear whether Watts himself wished Jagat Seth to send his agents to Hugli and Calcutta or whether he was writing to oblige Jagat Seth. The words of his letter will bear the former sense and it would certainly have been advantageous to have two reliable men like these to act as safe channels of communication between Murshidabad and Calcutta. However Watts gives no reasons for his advice to Clive and nothing further is mentioned about the matter.

That the plotters at Murshidabad were busy is evident from Scrafton's letter to Walsh of the 9th April.<sup>129</sup> The Nawab was still full of resentment at the treatment he received when Clive attacked his camp on the 5th February but at the same time he had a wholesome dread of the English force. His court was like that of the Ptolomy who reigned in Egypt when Pompey fled there after the battle of Pharsalia and "the Colonel should be the Caesar to act as Caesar then did, take the Kingdom under his protection, depose the old and give them a new King to make his subjects happy." Scrafton urges that they should proceed on some fixed plan with regard to their demands on the Nawab and above all that they should take measures in case a rupture should occur between the Nawab and the English. "Give Mr. Watts," he says, "a hint of this, the least encouragement, and he will set about forming a party in case of the worst," and adds "how glorious it would be for the Company to have a Nabob devoted to them." Scrafton evidently knew that there would be no difficulty in forming a party against the Nawab but at the same time it is equally evident that no such party had been joined by the English at this date.

On the 11th Watts wrote mysteriously to Clive "Omichund and I have had many conversations on a subject I did not know how to address you about. I opened myself to Scrafton and from him learn that Omichund's and my en-

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<sup>128</sup>. Watts to Clive, (Hill, Vol. II, p. 318).

<sup>129</sup>. Hill, Vol. III, p. 342.

deavours for yours and the Major's service will not be disagreeable."<sup>130</sup> But whatever the nature of these conversations may have been in the next paragraph of his letter he asserts that the Nawab was complying with his part of the treaty, though not so expeditiously as they might wish, and emphatically declared that nothing but an open and clear breach of his contract by the Nawab ought to induce them to rekindle the war in Bengal.

The next few days were days full of excitement for Watts who was urging the Nawab to give up the French to the English while Clive and Watson were writing to the same effect from Calcutta. These demands exasperated the Nawab but they also made him tremble. On the 13th, in the presence of Jagat Seth and others he threatened to impale Watts or cut off his head.<sup>131</sup> On the 16th the French had left.<sup>132</sup>

The next day Scrafton had a long conversation with Omichand who informed him that the posture of affairs on that date stood thus:—The Nawab believed that the English would never forgive all the injuries that he had done to them and consequently all their professions of friendship were insincere. The friendship which he pretended to have for the English was inspired by fear. His true feelings were shown by his actions. He had ordered the mouth of the Murcha river to be blocked up because he thought that the King's ships would come round by way of Dacca and attack him. He was keeping a large army on foot. He had driven the French from Cassimbazar but he had not given them up to the English and was keeping them within call. Jagat Seth, Ranjit Rai and several others had told Watts that when he had taken leave of the Nawab the latter had turned about and said, "I will have your head yet." Whenever the French had a strong force he would certainly join them and there were persistent rumours that Bussy was coming from the south. At that time, however, the Pathans were threatening to invade the province from the north. If this happened the Nawab would place his trust in the English but if this did not happen or if the Nawab deviated in any respect from his treaty Omichand recommended the British to break with him and set up another Nawab. Luttee, or Khoda Yar Lutf Khan, was the proper man to set up. He was of a very good character, supported by Jagat Seth and would join the English with 2,000 good horse. Manik Chand, the erstwhile Governor of Calcutta would also join with what force he could bring and all the great men of Murshidabad wished Siraj-ud-daula dead.<sup>3</sup>

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130. Hill, Vol. II, p. 323.

131. Watts to Walsh (Hill, II, 330).

132. Watts to Clive (Hill, II, 337).

133. Scrafton to Walsh (Hill, II, 342).



Here we see the plot fully developed and the English invited to join it. Respect for the memory of Alivardi Khan had caused Mir Jafar to refuse the overtures made to him by Jagat Seth and the latter had to put up with Khoda Yar Lutf Khan, a commander of 2,000 horse in the Nawab's service to whom Jagat Seth paid a monthly allowance to protect him against all his enemies—even against the Nawab if occasion should arise.<sup>134</sup> Scrafton was eager to join the plot and chafed against the more cautious proceedings of Watts. His next two letters to Walsh narrate the progress of affairs. On the 20th April he wrote:—"Young minds cannot keep resentment long concealed; his heart broke out to-day. When our vacqueel went to him, the instant he saw him he ordered him to be turned out of the Durbar; as the fellow was going he overheard him say, "I will destroy them and their nation." Meer Jaffer was ordered to march and he would follow himself; when asked the reason he said "they are always writing me to deliver up the French; I will receive no more of their letters." But for God's sake let us pacify him for the present; things are not ripe. Omichund is gone to Jaggutseat. I know the intent of his sending for him beforehand; it is to communicate to him his desire that we should set up Lattey."—To turn our vacqueel out of the Darbar was to be sure the greatest affront he could put upon us, but he sent for him again presently after, but the vacqueel was come away. It is now morning and His Excellency is sorry for what is done."<sup>135</sup> On the 21st he wrote:—"My mind is continually on the stretch. Politicks interrupt my sleep and give me a downright fever of thought. Watts acts like a man who is conscious of the ill state of his affairs and keeps his books back that his imagination may have some room to flatter him, but that won't do for me. I do not fear the worst. The horse frets and bites and cannot bear the bit. How glad would he be to fling his rider, and give him a kick that might give full fling to his unruly passions uncontrolled. What farther proofs would we have? The army is daily increasing. In the fit he was in two days ago he ordered Meer Jaffer to march, and promised him six lack the instant he advanced beyond their present encampment, and to make it ten if he was victorious; the next day he starts at the danger, countermands the march, sends for the vacqueel and gives him beetle. Omichand's sent for at night. "What shall I do to satisfy the English? Let me know their demands and I will comply with it for I want to march to the northward".....I believe there's a damn'd flat gust of wind come from the north, which he must meet, but neither will he take us with him nor place the least confidence in us; his mistrust of us is carried to extreme. He is cutting down Placy grove to

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134. Stewart, History of Bengal p. 521.

135. Hill, II, 349.

stop the river that way, and he is flinging up the sand to prevent the water entering this river, at any rate lest our ships should come up. Oh the fool! Finish he must before he goes, so that he will either pay us or fight us in few days."<sup>136</sup>

On the 23rd Watts warned Clive to be prepared for the worst. The Nawab was in heart their bitter enemy and would attack them in conjunction with the French as soon as his apprehensions of the Pathans were removed. But he adds "Though I am sensible how absolutely necessary it is to have a Nawab attached to our interest (which this man will never be) in order to keep the French from re-establishing in this province yet I think we ought to temporize and pacify the Nawab for the present and appear to give over all thoughts of war till the French are marched to a distance, till the Pytans are advanced nearer and till some schemes which Omichund and I hope to effect are ripe for execution, which we shall advise you of, but you may have your carriage, oxen and all necessaries privately prepared to be ready to march at an hour's warning." Before despatching this letter Watts sent Omichand to Khoda Yar Lutf Khan and entered into an engagement with him. It was arranged that whenever the Nawab broke with the English Yar Lutf Khan was to join them with his whole force and the English were to make him Nawab.<sup>137</sup>

Obviously this engagement would only come into effect if the Nawab committed some overt act against the English and pleased neither Scrafton, nor Omichand nor the malcontents at Murshidabad who advocated the adoption of bolder measures. On the 24th Scrafton, who had hitherto addressed all his letters to Mr. Walsh, thought he was now justified in corresponding with Clive direct. He recapitulates all his reasons for distrusting the Nawab and proceeds:—"Watts has never dared to write all this, and when I told him my mind he told me I wanted to embroil affairs, but now it is too apparent to be concealed. Omichund was glad to find one that has the spirit to think of resistance; Omichund's mind is big with some great project. He told me yesterday he was bound to secrecy, but to keep ourselves in readiness and when matters were ripe he would let you know. I can give a pretty good guess; it is in conjunction with Jagatseth to set up Lattee. There is to be a hundred men at Cossimbuzar who are to join Lattee and storm the Nawab while at that very instant you are to begin your march and when you come near the army you will be joined by some of the principal jemidars. Omichund wants to have the whole honour to himself and cannot bear that anyone should interfere."<sup>138</sup>

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136. Hill, II, 351.

137. Watts to Clive (Hill, II, 353).

138. Hill II, 357.

Scrafton, who was without responsibilities, hardly appreciated the difficulties of Watts who was answerable for the measures he advocated. Watts felt some doubt about the success of the "Lattey-" scheme—at least he dropped it without hesitation for one which he calls a more feasible one. Then there was the treaty which had been made with the Nawab and Watts agreed with Clive that the Nawab's behaviour made it very difficult to know what measures should be pursued. Jagat Seth, Ranjit Rai, Omichand and many others maintained that the Nawab would break the treaty when Clive and Admiral Watson left Bengal or when he received assistance from the French. On the other side he was complying with his contract and granting the English whatever they asked within the compass of his agreement. The main source of contention between the Nawab and the English—the attack on the French—had nothing to do with the articles of peace and the Nawab was not bound to deliver them up to the English. It was true that the Nawab had said that the enemies of the English were his enemies also but this was said in a private letter and not mentioned in the agreement while on the other hand it was distinctly mentioned that the English were not to make war in Bengal while the Nawab remained faithful to the treaty. These were the difficulties of Watts as stated in a letter to Clive of the 26th April<sup>139</sup> and having stated the difficulties he proceeded to solve them—

Since the quarrel.

Will bear no colour for the thing he is,  
Fashion it thus: that what he is, augmented,  
Would run to these and these extremities:  
And therefore think him as a serpent's egg—  
Which, hatch'd, would, as his kind, grow mischievous,  
And kill him in the shell.

"When we consider," says Mr. Watts, "there is no dependence on the Nawab that he is secretly our enemy and that we have almost positive assurances of the French being in his pay and have great reason to believe he will join them on the first occasion, which junction must be fatal to our affairs here; prudence certainly requires us to guard against such an accident. Watts then proceeded to inform Clive that he had received overtures from Mir Jafar through Khoja Petrus the Armenian. The message of Mir Jafar was to the effect that the Nawab was generally disliked, that he ill-used and affronted everybody, that he, himself, expected assassination every time he went to visit the Nawab and therefore always had his son and forces in readiness and that he was persuaded that the Nawab would not keep his agreement. Therefore he and others were ready and willing to join their forces, seize the Nawab and set up another

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139. Hill II, 362.

person who might be approved of. "If you approve of this scheme," wrote Watts, "which is more feasible than the other I wrote about, he requests you will write your proposals of what money, what land you want, or what treaties you will engage in. When I receive your answer I shall endeavour to have a meeting with him, and inform you of the particulars of his scheme, proposals and demands."<sup>140</sup> On the 28th Watts wrote to Clive again,<sup>141</sup> "The Nabob will not keep his Agreement; this you depend on,.....Mr. Jafar's proposals of joining us I beg you will answer immediately, when I shall make a firm agreement; therefore send me your proposals and when you receive my letter then be ready to march. The Pytans are returned and the troubles.....are over. Upon this the Nabob is very uppish. The three fourths of the army are his enemies. When the agreement with Meir Jaffair is settled we cannot have a man more powerful. There is none equal to him."

One other incident of these days before the English had committed themselves to participation in the plot may be found in the records. On the 28th April Scrafton relates a conversation he had had with Omichand. He says to Clive "I showed Omichund your letter. He said it was by no means fit we should be seen together; he was much suspected, I more. I told him what I feared from Watts' timorous temper:—

"Fear nothing, in four days I will send Hazardemul and my family as hostages for my fidelity. I will establish a cypher with him, and he shall acquaint you with all the particulars."

I begged of him to communicate the whole to me; he said No, he had given his oath" for which I am accountable to God, but Luttee is not the man, another firmly supported by Jaggutseat."

"Are you firm to this, if approved?"

"Yes."

"Shall I go straight down."

"No;; it will alarm greatly. By no means go to Dacca. Stay a day and they overland."

"Will Juggutseat persevere?"

Yes; he is taking proper measures to send away his women, and you may be assured of a part of his army going over to you. You might communicate your terms to Hazardemul. The Nabob's army is at least half a lack strong."

Now Sir, had I twenty four hours conversation with you I could say no more. The 10th I am with you. It is high time for me to be gone. Watts is damned jealous of me, and I am watched as a cat does a mouse."<sup>142</sup>

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140. Hill, II, 363.

141. Hill, II, 366.

142. Hill, III, 345.

The scene now changes to Calcutta. Clive had been closely following the course of events at Murshidabad. He had been greatly impressed by the letters from Scrafton and on the 26th April had written to Admiral Watson "there is such confusion and discontent at Muxadavad from the Nabob's weak conduct and tyranny, that I have received certain advice of several great men, among whom are Juggut Seat and Meer Jaffier, being in league together to cut him off, and set up Murgodaunyer Cawn Luttee, a man of great family, power and riches, supported tooth and nail by Juggut Seat.....You may be assured, Sir, some great revolution will happen before long and I hope much to the advantage of the Company."<sup>143</sup> On the 28th April he informed Watts that if the Nawab was resolved to sacrifice them they must avoid it by striking the first blow. He asked for more information about Luttee and recommended Watts to be cautious in committing the English to any definite engagement. Finally he hoped the report was true that Mir Jafar wanted to get rid of the Nawab. The report was true and Clive decided that the time for action had come.<sup>144</sup>

On the 1st May the Select Committee took into consideration whether they could, consistently with the Peace made with the Nawab, concur in the measures proposed by Mir Jafar to depose Siraj-ud-daula and make himself Nawab. After weighing the matter maturely the Committee "were unanimously of opinion that there could be no dependance on this Nabob's word, honour, and friendship, and that a revolution in the Government would be extremely for the advantage of the Company's affairs." Their reasons for coming to this conclusion were three. First it was clear that the Nawab had made a treaty with them merely to extricate himself from the danger which threatened him at the time. Secondly they had reason to believe that he would break the treaty at the first favourable opportunity. Common prudence therefore obliged them to prevent their own ruin. Lastly, "the Nabob is so universally hated by all sorts and degrees of men; the affection of the army is so much alienated from him by his ill usage of the officers, and a revolution so generally wished, for, that it is probable the step will be attempted (and successfully too) whether we give our assistance or not. In this case we think it would be a great error in politics to remain idle and unconcerned spectators of an event, wherein by engaging as allies to the person designed to be set up we may benefit our Employers and the community very considerably, do a general good, and effectually traverse the designs of the French and possibly keep them entirely out of these dominions; this we have reason to expect *as our assistance is courted, and the support of our troops wanted* to countenance and settle the new Subah in his Government."<sup>145</sup>

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143. Hill, II, 362.

144. Clive to Watts (Hill, II, 366).

145. Select Committee Proceedings (Hill, II, 370, 371).

The next day Clive sent the English proposals to Watts at Murshidabad and said he might enter upon business with Mir Jafar as soon as he pleased. He himself engaged to be at Nyaserai, the rendezvous of the army, twelve hours after hearing from Watts, while Major Killpatrick, who commanded at Calcutta, was all ready to embark at a minute's warning. "Tell Mir Jafar," he added, "to fear nothing, that I will join him with 5,000 men who never turned their backs."<sup>146</sup> However more than a month elapsed before the treaty was signed and Clive could set out on his march to Murshidabad.

First of all Omichand caused trouble. Mir Jafar and the Seths were anxious to keep him in ignorance of the change that had been made in the plot but Omichand knew more than they were aware of and Watts was forced to take him into his confidence.<sup>147</sup> Then facts came to the knowledge of Watts which showed that Omichand was not the sincere friend he pretended to be and his trust in Omichand vanished altogether when the latter demanded 5 per cent. of the Nawab's treasure as the price of his participation in the plot. The Nawab was supposed to be worth 40 crores of rupees and Omichand's share would have been 20 laks.<sup>148</sup> To thwart Omichand's greed and at the same time to prevent him from betraying the plot, two treaties were drawn up—one on red paper containing a stipulation that Omichand was to receive 20 laks and one on white paper in which this stipulation was omitted. All this had, however, caused delay and Watts informed Clive that Mir Jafar was uneasy and anxious to the last degree at not hearing whether his proposals had been accepted or not.<sup>149</sup>

Watts received the treaty on the 23rd May. He had promised to finish everything in two hours' time when once the treaty was in his hands but in reality it was nearly two weeks before the treaty was signed by Mir Jafar. Rai Durlabh Ram, the Nawab's treasurer, was responsible for the delay. He confessed afterwards that Omichand had been tampering with him. "In short," said Watts, "no device has that cunning serpent left unessayed to mar our affairs, because he had not the management of them himself."<sup>150</sup>

It was Clive's turn to feel uneasy. He could not understand why there should be any delay. The plot was being publicly talked about in Calcutta and he began to think of giving it up.<sup>151</sup> On the 5th June he told Watts that he

146. Clive to Watts (Hill, II, 372).

147. "I have let Omychund into the scheme and am afraid he (Mir Jafar) will startle when he hears it as he has no opinion of the Gentoos" Watts to Clive 6th May, (Hill, II, 377).

148. Watts to Clive 14th May (Hill, II, 380).

149. Watts to Clive 23rd May (Hill, II, 392).

150. Watts to Clive 6th June (Hill, II, 400).

151. Clive to Watts 5th June, (Hill, II, 398).

had been duped and ordered him to get the Articles back again.<sup>152</sup> The same night Watts went to the house of Mir Jafar in a close dooly, a kind of sedna chair used only by women and therefore sate from prying eyes. Mir Jafar signed the treaty and swore upon the Koran and his son's head to keep firm to the agreement.<sup>153</sup>

Clive received the treaty on the 11th June. On the 13th he wrote to the Nawab recapitulating all the grievances of the English, charging him with writing to Bussy in the Deccan and paying Law Rs. 10,000 a month by bills drawn on the Seths' house at Rajmahal and declaring that he was marching to Cassimbazar to put their disputes to arbitration before Jagat Seth, Mohan Lal, Mir Jafar and the rest of his great men.<sup>154</sup> The same day he marched. On the 19th he captured Cutwa. Here on the 21st he held his famous Council of War from which he retired to a neighbouring grove and spent an hour in deep meditation. On his return he gave the order for an advance. On the 22nd his army crossed the river and at one in the morning of the 23rd arrived at Plassey. At daybreak the battle commenced and by 4 o'clock in the afternoon Siraj-ud-daula's army was in full flight. The next morning Mir Jafar paid a visit to Clive. He expressed much gratitude for the great services rendered him by the English and assured Clive in the most solemn manner that he would faithfully fulfil the treaty he had made with them. He then proceeded to Murshidabad while Clive encamped without to prevent ravage and disorder.<sup>155</sup>

The Seths had played no part in these events. Their sphere of action was the Council-chamber rather than the battlefield. All we read of them is that they persuaded Luttee, who had hoped to be made Nawab, to throw in his lot with Mir Jafar.<sup>156</sup> It would be fair to conclude that their conduct before the battle was no different from their conduct afterwards and hence we can assert that they had been consistently loyal to their engagement with the English and were untainted with the avarice of Omichand and the trickery and treachery of Rai Durlabh Ram and others.

The English soon had reason to believe that they had been duped. Messrs. Watts and Walsh were sent to Murshidabad to receive the money promised in the treaty with Mir Jafar and sent the following report to Clive; "We waited on the Nabob this morning and went through the ceremony of his Durbar for full two hours, when he and Roy Duplup retired with us, but instead of Juggut Seat's advancing the money, Roy Dulup with his whole stock of Gentue

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152. Hill, II, 398.

153. Watts to Clive 6th June (Hill, II 399).

154. Clive to the Nawab (Hill, II, 405).

155. Clive to Select Committee Fort St. George (Hill, II, 441).

156. "Rungeet Roy informs me that Juggatseat has secured Luttee" Watts to Clive (Hill, II, 400).

rhetorick endeavoured to persuade us that the Treasurer had been examined, and it appeared there could not be above a crore and 40 lack in the Treasury, and added that Juggut Seat could not advance crores of rupees; we were not acquainted with facts sufficiently to contest the matter well with Roy Dulup, but desired we might talk with Moonloll and carry him to visit Saabut Jung,<sup>157</sup> which with some difficulty, on Roy Dulup's part, was consented to. When we asked Roy Dulup at what time he and Monickchund proposed setting out for camp, he answered till this affair was settled he could not think of going. In short he appears to pride himself in shuffling and tricking, and we are persuaded, whilst he is Minister, our affairs will meet with all the interruption that Gentue cunning can raise. We should be glad you should interrogate Omichund and let us know his sentiments of the Nabob's wealth. He told Mr. Watts he knew all the places where the treasures were hoarded; for hoards there are and many by the information we have had had. He would certainly be a necessary person here, if he was not always so full of taking care of himself."<sup>158</sup>

Clive decided to go to the City himself the next day to see into the matter and checkmate the chicanery and villainy of Rai Durlabh Ram. He also intended to see the Nawab and Jagat Seth and consult with them on the measures to be taken to secure the person of Siraj-ud-daula and settle the new government on a solid foundation.<sup>159</sup> At one o'clock, however, he was warned by Watts and Walsh not to come. "Rungeet Roy," they said, "is despatched to us by Jaggatseat to desire that you will not come into town this afternoon for treachery is intended you. A consultation was held last night between Meerum, Roy Dulup and Cossim Hussain Cawn about cutting you off at your visit to the Nabob. You may return on pretence of illness if you are on the road, but it will be necessary to write of it. Jaggatseat will then visit you to-morrow morning. He begs you will not mention a syllable of this intelligence as you value his life."<sup>160</sup>

This happened on the 27th June and in consequence of the warning he had received Clive did not enter the city till the morning of the 29th. In the afternoon he paid a ceremonial visit to Mir Jafar, handed him to the masnad and saluted him as Nawab whereupon the new Nawab received the congratulations and homage of his courtiers. "On my return home," writes Clive, "I had a visit from Juggat Seat with whom I had a good deal of conversation. As he is a person of the greatest property and influence in the three subahs and of no inconsiderable weight at the Mogul's Court, it was natural to determine on

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157. Clive.

158. Watts and Walsh to Clive 26th June, (Hill, II, 430).

159. Clive to Select Committee Fort William 27th June 1 p.m. (Hill, II, 431).

160. Watts and Walsh to Clive, 27th June, 1 p.m. (Hill, II, 431).



him, as the properest person to settle the affairs of that Government; accordingly when the Nawab returned my visit this morning, I recommended to him to consult Juggut Seat on all occasions, which he readily assented to, and immediately proposed, that as the money in the Treasury fell short of his expectations, and was not sufficient to satisfy his obligations to us, and leave him wherewithal for his necessary expenses, Juggut Seat should likewise mediate that matter between us; which proposal was too agreeable to me to decline, for, as I had sufficient reason to think great sums had been secreted and made away with by his Ministers, it would have been both a difficult and invidious task for me to have sifted into this affair. Accordingly we agreed to visit Jugut Seat immediately, that all subject for heart burnings on this account on either side might be removed out of hand; which being put in practice. Juggut Seat after a long but friendly debate settled the point as follows; that we should be paid one-half of our demand immediately, two-thirds in money and one-third in jewels, plate and goods, and the other half should be paid within three years at three yearly and equal payments. When I consider the state of the Treasury as it appeared to us, and that a sufficiency must necessarily be left to the Nabob for payment of his troops, to whom long arrears were due for services under the late Nabob, I cannot say but the terms exceeded my expectation. As it was absolutely necessary to satisfy Roy Dulub, who is the principal Minister, and through whose hands our affairs must pass, I thought it not improper to admit him to a commission of 5 per cent. and Juggut Seat representing that he had been a sufferer of seven lack by the French, and as he was joining in measures for their extirpation, it was probable he should never be paid; I agreed, provided you approved of it, that he might take what goods of theirs should be found at their out-Settlements and aurungs, and the ballance should be made good by our Company, provided he could not recover it from them. After which he assured us, that we might be persuaded of his best services, and rest satisfied that he would get the present Nabob confirmed from Delhi, represent our transactions in the fairest light, and procure for us any phirmaund we may have occasion for. His advice to the Nabob in general was to replace Allyverdi Cawn's officers in their old posts."<sup>161</sup>

Clive and Mir Jafar had been accompanied to the house of the Seths by Watts, Scrafton, Miran and Rai Durlabh Ram. Omichand, too, was with them but was not invited to a seat on the carpet where the conference took place. So he had taken his seat in the outer part of the hall and thought of the riches that would soon be his. When the conference was over Clive decided that the time had come to undeceive him and Scrafton said to him "Omichand, the red paper is a trick; you to have nothing." The shock was too great for the old

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161. Clive to Select Committee Fort William 30th June, (Hill, II, 437).

man. He would have sunk to the ground in a fainting condition had not one of his attendants caught him in his arms. He was carried to his palankeen and then taken home. But his mind was affected, a pilgrimage to Malda did him more harm than good and he spent the remaining months of his life in a state of imbecillity delighting in dressing himself in rich garments and ornamenting himself with the most costly jewels.<sup>162</sup>

The revolution was consummated with another tragedy. Siraj-ud-daula who had fled from Murshidabad a few hours before the arrival of Mir Jafar in the city, was captured near Rajmahal in such a distressed condition that he was almost without clothes to his back<sup>163</sup> He arrived in Murshidabad on the 2nd July, at night, and was immediately despatched.<sup>164</sup> Clive states that the Nawab would have spared him but his son, Miran, and others of his great men thought his death necessary,<sup>165</sup> "Tyrant as he was," says Orme, "if he had respected the advice of his grandfather Allyverdy, and not have excited the detestation of the Gentoos, at the same time that he was rendering himself ful to the principal Mahomedan officers of his court, the English would have found no alliance sufficient to have ventured the risque of dethroning him: but it is probable that the same iniquity of character which urged him to the destruction of Calcutta, would soon have called forth other avengers of other atrocious deeds."

## 4.

The alliance which had brought about the revolution tended to fall to pieces when its end had been attained. The triumphal procession of boats which carried to Calcutta the gold and silver paid to the English under the award of Jagat Seth was intended to efface the humiliation of the sack of Calcutta by Siraj-ud-daula but, not unnaturally, it was the cause of much heart burning to the people of Murshidabad. A year ago the English had been a body of comparatively helpless merchants, by whom they had been courted and bribed and now the unpleasant truth was daily becoming apparent that the power of these merchants was overshadowing that of the Nawab of Bengal. Clive who was regarded as the embodiment of this power, was looked upon as a rival rather than an ally by Miran who was continually urging his father to free himself from English domination. Expression was given to the general feeling by one of Mir Jafar's courtiers in full durbar, "Sir" said the Nawab to him, "your

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162. Orme, Vol. II, p. 182.

163. I have just had advice of Surajah Dowla's being taken near Rajahmaul in a distressed condition with hardly cloaths to his back." Clive to Select Committee, Fort St. George (Hill, II, 442).

164. Clive to Select Committee Fort St. George (Hill, II, 443).

165. Clive to Select Committee, Fort William (Hill, II, 444).

people have had a fray with the Colonel's people; Is your honour to know, who is that Colonel Clive, and in what station Heaven has seated him?" "My Lord Nawab," replied the culprit with hardly veiled sarcasm, "Me, to quarrel with the Colonel! me! who never get up every morning, without making three profound bows to his very jackass? How then could I be daring enough after that to fall out with the rider himself?"<sup>166</sup> That Clive triumphed over this hostile feeling was due to the glamour which surrounded him and the genuine regard which Mir Jafar felt towards him.

What Mir Jafar felt most irksome was the restraint exercised by Clive upon his dealings with his subjects. Rai Durlabh Ram had been one of the chief allies of Mir Jafar but after the revolution mutual distrust replaced their former feelings of friendship and it was only the restraining hand of Clive which saved Rai Durlabh Ram from destruction. Other Hindus who occupied important posts in the administration of the province were also full of fears for their safety. Troubles broke out at Midnapore and Purnea. Above all Ram Narain, the Governor of Patna, believed with truth that he was marked out for ruin and was forming plans for resisting Mir Jafar.

Mir Jafar was not an Alivardi Khan who showed that he could keep a province that he had won. According to the Seir Mutaqherin he and his son plunged into all kinds of pleasures without bestowing one single thought on affairs of state. A great change, too, had taken place in Mir Jafar. Formerly he had rendered himself conspicuous by his liberality, especially to his soldiers, but now he showed himself "a wretch of the most sordid avarice and a very carrion in parsimony and stinginess." "My Lord Nawab," said one of his friends one day, "a time was when you were renowned for liberality; What is become of it now?" "Friend," answered he unconcernedly, "in Alivardi Khan's time, the matter consisted only in taking up water from a river, and in bestowing another's money; but now that the river is become my own, my heart aches whenever I am obliged to part with any of its water, were it even to a friend."<sup>167</sup> The result of this was that his soldiers, whose pay was always in arrear, became extremely discontented and a constant source of danger to himself.

Scrafton, the political resident at Murshidabad, found himself unable to contend with the confusion that reigned everywhere. The Nawab was distracted with suspicions of treachery at Murshidabad, he was evading compliance with the articles of the treaty with the English, rebellions were breaking out in all directions, and it was reported that Ram Narain was joining Sujah-ud-daula, the Nawab of Oude. Scrafton was convinced that if that

166. Seir Mutaqherin Vol. II, p. 19.

167. Seir Mutaqherin Vol. II, p. 41.

happened Bengal was lost. On the 7th November he wrote to Clive, "Sir, I can only say, if you don't set out, with or without troops, permit me to go to Calcutta." "I shall march," said Clive in answer, "with the whole army. I have wrote to the Nabob and Ram Narrain, of which copies are enclosed you. Do not suffer yourself to be unquieted beyond reason at the situation of affairs, but consider them coolly, and give me daily accounts of what is passing. The march of the army is absolutely necessary as well to support the Nawab against his enemies, as to see justice done ourselves."<sup>168</sup>

The presence of Clive acted like magic. It had been with the greatest difficulty that Mir Jafar could be prevailed upon to issue out of his treasury 10,000 rupees. Soon after Clive joined him he had paid twenty-five laks and given security for the payment of ten more.<sup>169</sup> Rajah Ram, the Midnapore rebel, submitted to him, the rebels of Purnea were dispersed, and Ram Narain was reconciled with the Nawab and confirmed in his governorship. On the 18th February, 1758, Clive could say "All domestic troubles are now happily ended; and the Nabob seems so well fixed in his government, as to be able, with a small degree of prudence, to maintain himself quietly in it. For ourselves, we have been so fortunate in these transactions as to attach to us the most considerable persons in the kingdom; and, by the constancy with which we successively supported Rajah Ram, Roy Dullub, and Ram Narrain, to acquire the general confidence, and make our friendship be solicited on all sides."<sup>170</sup>

Clive returned to Murshidabad in May but two days before he entered the city trouble was caused by Miran, who was in charge. His jealousy of Clive was increased by the success of the latter in quelling the rebellions that had threatened the state and he was intensely irritated by the fact that Rai Durlabh Ram was returning in Clive's company. He affected to believe that his life was in danger, gathered an army and marched out of the city. The result was a panic. "The markets were deserted, the shops were shut, the bankers, even the Seats, would do no business and many principal families prepared to send away their effects."<sup>171</sup> In a day or two, however, Miran apologised to Clive for his conduct.

It was determined, nevertheless, to dismiss Rai Durlabh from his post of Diwan. Nuncomar had been added to the number of his enemies and Rai Durlabh had given fresh cause of complaint by not satisfying the demands of the army and compelling the Nawab to break into his own hoards of gold for

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168. Malcolm's Life of Clive Vol. II, 374, 325.

169. Malcolm's Life of Clive Vol II, 377,

170. Malcolm's Life of Clive Vol II, 338.

171. Orme, Vol. II, p. 353.

the purpose. The scheme against the Diwan would not have been free from risk, says Orme, "if Nuncomar and others had not estranged the powerful house of the Seats from the interests of Roydoolub, by representations that they would be called on for money to supply the Nabob's exigencies, if Roydoolub continued to delay the supplies from the revenues." In August the Nawab left Murshidabad on a visit to Clive in Calcutta and the opportunity was taken to make an attack on the house of Rai Durlabh. The attack was frustrated by Scrafton who sent news of the event to Watts, then with the Nawab, and Watts persuaded the Nawab to allow Rai Durlabh to accompany them to Calcutta.<sup>172</sup>

The enhancement of the power of the English in Bengal had been felt by the Seths. We have seen that the establishment of a mint at Calcutta did not, for some years, do them any harm owing to their command of the specie of the province and the operation of the practice of batta. But in other directions they found that when their interests clashed with those of the English they had to give way. Before Clive set out from Murshidabad to march against Ram Narain he had been anxious to secure assignments on the revenues of Burdwan, Nuddea and Hugli for the payment of the money still due under the treaty together with written agreements from the zemindars of those districts binding them to make the payments regularly to the English. This was the method followed by the Seths in obtaining security for their loans to the government and at this time they had demands on most of these very zemindars. Naturally they were opposed to Clive's plan but when he threatened them with the loss of the friendship of the English they desisted from opposition and the arrangement which Clive wished was concluded.<sup>173</sup>

It will be remembered that Jagat Seth had promised to procure a farman from Delhi confirming Mir Jafar as Nawab of Bengal. On the 23rd December, 1757, Clive wrote "the Nabob's confirmation is not yet procured at Delhi, nor can I judge when it will. The difficulty is in the price."<sup>174</sup> On the 29th January, 1758, however the news came that the patents had been made out and titles granted to Miran and other members of Mir Jafar's family. Jagat Seth informed Clive that he too had been created an Omra of the Empire with several high-sounding titles. A year later Clive wrote the following letter to the Seths on the subject:—

The President to the Seats, dated 31st January, 1759. No. 281.

"I always understood, that when you had procured me the Sunnod for a 6,000 Munsub and 5,000 Horse, with the title of Zubdit-al-Mulk Nazier-ad-Doula, that the Nabob would have favoured me with a Jaguire, equal to the

172. Orme, Vol. II, p. 356—358.

173. Clive to Select Committee, London, (Malcolms' Life of Clive, II, p. 332).

174. Clive to Select Committee, London, (Malcolm's Life of Clive II, 331).

Rank I received by my Sunnod; but to this day I have not heard a Word from him concerning it. As there is a strong friendship subsisting between you and me. I beg leave to give you the Trouble to apply to the Nabob concerning this Affair and that I may have a Jaguire equal to my Rank."<sup>175</sup>

This letter brought the following reply:—

From the Seats to the President. No Date: Received 20th February, 1759.

Your Two obliging Letters, One answering ours which accompanied some Apples to you; the other, that you understood, when we had procured you a Munsub and Titles, that the Nabob would have favoured you with a Jaguire, equal to the Rank you received by your Sunnod, but that to the Writing of your Letter, you have not heard from him concerning it: that on Account of the Friendship subsisting between us, you desired we would apply to the Nabob and procure it; we have with great Pleasure received, and are rejoiced to hear you are in good Health, for which we return God thanks: Agreeable to your Orders we addressed the Nabob to give you a Jaguire: he has long determined not to grant Jaguires in the Subahship of Bengal: Orissa is poor, but if it is agreeable to you to have one in the subahship of Bahar, it will be immediately granted you; of this I thought proper to advise you. Please to acquaint us with your Resolution on this Affair. We are going to a Place of Devotion with all our Family in a Day or two, accompanied by some of the Nabob's Forces. By the favour of God we hope to return in Six Weeks."<sup>176</sup>

Here the matter dropped and Clive thought no more about it but his suggestion was to bear fruit in the future.

Just at this time the Seths fell under the suspicion of the Nawab who tried to prevent them from going on their pilgrimage. Fresh troubles had broken out in the beginning of 1759. The Emperor Alamgir the Second had not even the semblance of authority and was a mere instrument in the hands of his vazier. His eldest son, the Shahzada Shah Alam unable to bear this state of thralldom, escaped from Delhi, gathered together an army and meditated the conquest of Bengal. The news caused the greatest consternation at Murshidabad. Ram Narrain was suspected of having invited the Shahzada into Behar and Jagat south was implicated in the affair. Malcolm, in his Life of Lord Clive, gives the following account of the Seths' quarrel with the Nawab with comments upon it:—"Juggeit Seit and his brother had obtained leave to proceed on a pilgrimage to Parasnath, and had commenced their journey, when information was received that they were in correspondence with the Shahzada, and had actually furnished him with the means of paying his new levies. The Nabob,

175. First Report of Select Committee of the House of Commons. Appendix No. 7, p. 224.

176. First Report of Select Committee of the House of Commons. Appendix No. 7, p. 224.

giving credit to this report, sent to stop them; but they refused compliance with his orders, and proceeded under the guard of the two thousand men which he had furnished for their escort. These troops, on receiving a promise of the liquidation of their arrears, readily transferred their allegiance from the Prince to his bankers. The Nabob, if he had had the disposition, would probably have found himself without the means of coercing these wealthy subjects into obedience. The principal bankers of India command, through the influence of their extensive credit, the respect of sovereigns, and the support of their principal ministers and generals. Their property, though often immense, is seldom in a tangible form. Their great profits enable them to bear moderate exactions; and the prince who has recourse to violence towards one of this class is not only likely to fail in his immediate object of plunder, but is certain to destroy his future resources, and to excite an impression of his character that must greatly facilitate those attempts against his life and power to which it is the lot of despots to be continually exposed." The suspicions against Jagat Seth were probably without foundation and we soon afterwards find him in favour with the Nawab.

When Mir Jafar heard that Clive had chased the Shahzada beyond the borders of Behar he was full of gratitude to the man to whom, he declared, he was indebted for his government the second time. Warren Hastings, who had succeeded Scrafton at Murshidabad, wrote to Clive informing him that the Nawab intended to confer a jaghir upon him "being ashamed that you should do so much for him without the prospect of reaping any advantage to yourself by it." The difficulties of giving Clive a jaghir in Bengal were overcome by Jagat Seth who recommended that he should be given the quit-rent arising from the lands ceded to the Company in the vicinity of Calcutta and this was done. The reward was great but, declared the Nawab, very little adequate to the services he had received from the Colonel.<sup>177</sup>

The news was conveyed to Clive in the following letter from the Seths which was undated but received on the 4th June, 1759.

"Some time ago we were favoured with an obliging Letter, from you to this Purport, That you had been honoured with a Munsub, of the Rank of 6,000 and the Command of 5,000 Horse from the Presence; and that we, who are your faithful Servants, had procured you the Sunnod, but that as yet no Jaguire had been granted for the same, and desiring that we should address the Nabob as we thought proper on that Affair, and procure the Jaguire, which would give you Satisfaction—Agreeable to your Orders we often reminded him of it, and he himself was contriving about it: We have lately addressed him again and

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<sup>177</sup>. Malcolm's Life of Clive, Vol. II, 423, 424.

he informs us, that he has pitched on a Place for your Jaguire in the Subaship of Bengal: and by the Blessing, when you return to this City, an Account thereof will be delivered to you. On this we rose and paid the usual Compliment on this Occasion. We, who are your sincere Friends and Well-wishers, hope to be favoured with an Account of your Health."<sup>178</sup>

Shortly afterwards Clive came to Murshidabad. He was met, two miles north of the city, by the Nawab, Jagat Seth and other officers of the court. After some conversation between the Nawab and Clive the Nawab retired and Jagat Seth presented Clive, from the Nawab, with a silken bag containing the title deeds of his jaghir.<sup>179</sup>

In September of the same year Mir Jafar paid a second visit to Calcutta and on this occasion was accompanied by Jagat Seth. The cost of entertaining the Nawab was 79,542 while Jagat Seth's entertainment cost Rs. 17,374. Here is the bill:—

The Honourable Company..... Dr.			
September.—For four day's expenses for Jugget Sett as undermentioned:—			
To House furnished viz:—		Rs.	A. P.
30 pieces of Cossas <sup>180</sup> at Rs. 5-8 per piece	Arcot ...	155	0 0
45 ditto of Cuttnee <sup>181</sup>	... ..	1,157	0 0
Red Bunting Silk, Tape and Thread for purdahs	..	96	12 0
Gunneys for the Bed	... ..	16	10 0
20 pairs of Mats	... ..	37	0 0
Taylors' work on Sundries	... ..	66	6 6
		529	4 6
To his diet for 4 days at Rs. 400 per day	... ..	16,000	0 0
To presents given &c.—	Rs. A. P.		
6 Pieces of flowered Velvet at			
Rs. 261-9-6 per piece	... ..	1,570	8 0
1 Otter box set with diamonds,			
Sicca Rs. 3,000	... ..	3,222	3 6
1 piece of China Bro-			
cade	... ..	215	0 0
2 ditto brought by			
Captain Brohier	... ..	552	0 0
		767	0 0

178. First Report of Select Committee of House of Commons. Appendix No. 8, p. 225.

179. First Report of Select Committee of House of Commons. Evidence of Francis Sykes. Page 154.

180. Muslin of a close fine texture, (Hobson Jobson, p. 707).

181. Cotton Cloth.



4 pieces of Broad Cloth at Rs. 70 per piece	...	280	0	0					
4 pairs of side Lanthorns at Rs. 120 per pair	...	280	0	0					
8 Twizer Cases at Rs. 55 each		440	0	0	6,959	5	6	8,359	5 6
					150	0	0		
To money given to his servants, viz :—								8,359	5 6
Jemadars, Chobdars, Peons, attending Servants, Dam- mar boys and bearers, etc.	...				.....			500	0 0
To Dolchand's expense—									
To his diet	...	150	0	0					
					150	0	0		
To presents given—									
2 pieces of flowered Velvet	...	457	3	0					
1 ditto of China Brocade	...	215	0	0					
2 ditto of Broadcloth	...	100	0	0					
					772	3	0		
To Rattoonchund, his diet	...							922	3 0
					150	0	0		
To Presents—									
2 pieces of flowered Velvet	...	532	7	0					
1 ditto of Broadcloth	...	50	0	0					
Buxis to the Servants	...	50	0	0					
					782	7	0		
								932	7 0
To Birjo Mohun Shaw, his diet	...				100	0	0		
To present—a piece of flowered Velvet	...				284	14	0		
								384	14 0
To Moonsubdar, his diet	...				100	0	0		
To Presents—									
2 pieces of Broad Cloth	...	140	0	0					
Ready money given Sunt Rs. 3,000	...	3,597	3	6					
					3,737	3	6		
								3,837	3 6

To paid Mr. Hackett as per Bill	Co's. Rs.	2,001	6	0
			1,883	2 8
To Broad cloth, half piece for putting over the				
Elephant	...	35	0	0
To Buxis to the people that brought present of				
Fruits, Sunt Rs. 20	...	20	10	0
			55	10 1

Arcot Rupees 17,374 1 6

Calcutta: } Errors Excepted  
6th October, 1759. } (Sgd.) ROBERT CLIVE.

One extract from the bill for the Nawab's entertainment will show the kind of presents made by the Company to a Nawab of Bengal:— Rs. A. P.

To 3 Waters, 1 Beetle Box and Rose-water Bottle in silver				
ornamented with Lazuli	...	...	2,186	0 0
To 1 ditto ditto		...	1,404	0 0
To 1 Rose-water Bottle and Stand		...	164	0 0
Waxwork—				
To a Turkish Lady	...	...	222	0 0
To a Boy and Girl	...	...	108	0 0
To the Virgin Mary	...	...	33	0 0
To 12 standing Venusses to pull off behind		...	840	0 0
To a lying ditto	...	...	84	0 0
To 6 kissing figures	...	...	72	0 0
To 8 ladies under glasses	...	...	160	0 0
To Joseph and Mary	...	...	33	0 0
To a Roman charity	...	...	56	0 0
To a curious cut Lustre containing 32 snake arms and fans,				
etc.	...	...	4,608	0 0
To 1 ditto. ditto. ditto		...	4,608	0 0
To a pair of plate glasses, 55 inches by 33½ inches		...	1,479	0 0
To 1 ditto ditto 47½ inches by 34½ inches		...	568	0 0
To 1 ditto ditto 45½ inches by 34 inches		...	426	0 0
To 1 double barrel Gun	...	...	180	0 0
To 1 silver mounted Gun with a gold lock-hole		...	124	0 0
To a pair of double barrel Pistols	...	...	210	0 0
To 2 ladies richly drest in silver, playing two tunes. <sup>182</sup>		...	2,080	0 0

<sup>182</sup>. Long's Selections from Unpublished Records p. 192.

In February 1760, to the great misfortune of Mir Jafar, Clive left India. Holwell succeeded him at Governor but in August was superseded by Vansittart. In the beginning of the year the English had to take the field to defend Mir Jafar once more against the Shahzada who had invaded the province with a more formidable force than that of the preceding year. The Mahrattas, too, entered the province from the south and by their ravages put a stop to the collection of the revenues upon which the Company depended to meet the expenses of the year. In March the Chief and Council at Dacca were asking Holwell for an immediate supply of money or permission to borrow from the house of Jagat Seth.<sup>183</sup> Holwell had no money and told them to go to Jagat Seth. By May Holwell also found himself constrained to apply to the Seths for money but he was informed that Mir Jafar had been making such large demands upon them that they were unable to comply with his request. Holwell took the refusal very badly. He wrote to Warren Hastings, "the necessity of the Company's affairs is such, that I have been obliged to apply to the Seats for a loan of ten or 15 lack, which they, under various pretences have refused: I judged their own security as well as an opportunity of obliging the Company, would have influenced their ready compliance; but herein I judged ill. However, I doubt not an occasion may offer, for manifesting a proper resentment to that house for this refusal."<sup>184</sup> Representations from Warren Hastings on the Seths' behalf merely drew from Holwell a grudging admission and renewed threats. "The apology you make for the Seats," he wrote, "and they for themselves, we must submit to; but though they may hold good respecting the large loan I requested of them, yet had they been inclined to have shewn a readiness to oblige the Company, they would at least have made a tender to me of such a sum as they could have spared with convenience to themselves. One reason they alledge to me for their refusal is, their having refused the Nabob, which I now find had not a word of truth in it. Had they complied with my request it would have armed them with the best reason they could have urged for not complying with his demand; and it would have been incumbent on us to screen and protect them from any violence intended against them.—A time may come, when they may stand in need of the Company's protection, in which case they may be assured they shall be left to Satan to be buffeted."<sup>185</sup>

Before many months had passed Holwell brought "Satan" on the scene. In July, Mir Jafar's eldest son, Miran, was killed by lightning while fighting against the Shahzada and the old Nawab was crushed with

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183. Long's Unpublished Records, p. 207.

184. Holwell, *India Tracts* (1774), p. 58.

185. Holwell, *India Tracts*, p. 62.

the blow. His soldiers, taking advantage of his grief and consternation, banded together to force him to pay them their arrears. On the 14th a clamorous mob surrounded the palace, insulted the treasurer and other officers of government, pulled them out of their palanquins and inflicted other indignities upon them. The same scenes were repeated the next day. On the 16th the mutineers became bolder. Some posted themselves at the doors of the palace and allowed none to enter or leave. Others mounted on every wall, even on those which are held sacred in the East, used the most insulting language towards the Nawab and threatened him with death if their demands were not complied with. They broke off fragments from the walls and pelted every courtier or attendant who came in sight with them so that several persons of distinction were wounded. This scene lasted for two days until Mir Kasim Ali Khan, the Nawab's son-in-law, paid the soldiers three lakhs of rupees from his own treasury and became security for the rest of their arrears.<sup>186</sup>

The internal disorders of the country combined with the unsatisfactory progress of the operations against external enemies and the empty state of the Company's treasury determined Holwell to bring about a change in the government. He prepared a memorial on the state of the affairs of the province for the new Governor who was on his way to Calcutta. In this memorial he laid at the door of Mir Jafar all the evils under which the country was suffering, he charged him with treacherous dealings with the Dutch in the previous year although Major Caillaud pointed out to him that this was never clearly proved and even if it had been proved the fault had been condoned by Clive; he charged him with corresponding with the Shahzada although Warren Hastings declared that the document was a forgery; he charged him with the murder of persons who were alive when Mir Jafar himself was dead<sup>190</sup> and he got £30,000 for himself when his scheme was successful.<sup>191</sup> The dethronement of Mir Jafar, condemned by Clive,<sup>192</sup> protested against by seven of the Company's servants in Bengal, approved by the Court of Directors in such hesitating terms that Warren Hastings did not venture to translate the despatch to the new Nawab,<sup>193</sup> was carried out by Governor Vansittart in October and Mir Kasim was installed in his place.

A month before Jagat Seth had come into novel relations with the new Governor as the following letter will show:—"Saturday the 20th of Morum,

186. Warren Hastings to Select Committee. Calcutta (Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. I, p. 71).

190. Long's Selections from Unpublished Records, p. 428.

191. Malcolm's Life of Clive, Vol. II, p. 289.

192. Malcolm's Life of Clive, Vol. II, p. 255.

193. Hastings to Vansittart, 14th July, 1762. (Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. II, p. 69.)

at 6 o'clock in the evening, as I was returning from dinner upon plain ground my foot slipped and I fell down, by which accident my shoulder was disjointed and two hours after I was bereaved of my senses. Shortly after a Commungore came and gave me physic, and by God's grace it was replaced by the 2nd of Zuffer, and I am much better, but yet I have not got the use of my arm; and I have received your favourable letter and the oil and extract of horn and other medicine and therefore I think you have done it from your heart, and since their arrival I have gained much strength, but you did not mention in what manner the medicines were to be applied, for this reason I have not used them, they remain as you sent them. I hope you will order to the people to write the direction and what regimen is necessary to be observed and shall immediately comply with them. My hand was lost to me, but by your favour I have received the use of it again, and I beg you will enquire and send me what other medicines may be necessary to remove the pain, and write me concerning the application, and also send a Doctor that perfectly understands the nature of the medicines. By your complying with these requests, after my recovery, as long as I have life I shall retain a grateful sense of it.

P.S.—Since yesterday, the 2nd Zuffer, Doctor Hancock has given me physic, and I write this for your information, and I imagine you wrote to Doctor Hancock about it, and therefore from your favour it is I have received so great benefit. God grant you long life and many riches."<sup>194</sup>

## 5.

The dethronment of Mir Jafar, the transportation of himself and his family to Calcutta and the installation of Mir Kasim in his place, were carried out under the superintendence of Vansittart who came to Murshidabad for the purpose. In the measures he took for settling the new government on a satisfactory foundation he sought the advice and assistance of Jagat Seth.<sup>195</sup> Mir Kasim also came to Jagat Seth for assistance in the shape of money—"a disagreeable operation," says the Seir Mutaqherin, "to which he was driven by the necessity of his affairs." These he found in an appalling state. Immense sums were due to the troops and large payments had to be made to the English. He found in the treasury about forty or fifty thousand rupees in cash and gold and silver plate to the value of three lacs.<sup>196</sup>

Mir Kasim applied himself resolutely to alter this state of things. The gold and silver plate was coined into money, the expenses were curtailed and order and regularity introduced into the administration of the finances.

194. Long's Selections from Unpublished Records, p. 234.

195. Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. I, p. 138.

196. Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. I, p. 139.

All who had taken advantage of the disorders which reigned under the former government to enrich themselves dishonestly were compelled to disgorge and the enquiry was so searching that not even the slave-women and eunuchs of the palace escaped.<sup>179</sup> Reforms were made in every branch of the administration. The army was re-modelled and disciplined after the English fashion. Guns and muskets were manufactured and the translator of the Seir Mutaqherin declares that the latter were superior to those sent to India for the use of the Company.

But Mir Kasim's experience of the nobles of Murshidabad had made him deeply suspicious of them all. His spies were everywhere so that men were frightened of visiting their friends and stayed in their own houses. This terror rose to such a height after a number of his officers had been put to death that his courtiers were in continual apprehension lest an unlucky word of their might arouse the Nawab's anger and even in their own homes their anxiety would not allow them to sleep peacefully at night.<sup>198</sup>

The relations between Mir Kasim and the English were bad from the start. Those members of the Council who had opposed his elevation never ceased to regard him with hostility in spite of all the efforts of Vansittart and Warren Hastings to bring about a better state of feeling. In the middle of 1762 a letter arrived in Bengal from the Court of Directors which referred in very guarded terms to the recent revolution. The opposition party took it to mean that the Directors disapproved of the revolution, published the letter throughout the province and declared that the next step would be the restoration of Mir Jafar.<sup>199</sup>

Warren Hastings was able to remove the Nawab's fears on this point but neither Vansittart nor he was able to settle the serious disputes which arose, hampered as they were by the violent opposition of their own colleagues. The state of Bengal at this time may be likened to that of the land of Canaan when, the ancient Book records, there was no king in Israel and every man did that which was right in his own eyes. The Company's dust-ucks or permits to carry on trade in Bengal custom free were shamefully abused. In former times they had only been used to protect the sea-borne trade but now they were used to cover salt, betel, tobacco and other articles of inland trade and the Nawab's revenues suffered accordingly. Not only that but every Bengali agent and underling of the Company's servants acted to-

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197. Seir Mutaqherin, Vol. II, p. 155.

198. Seir Mutaqherin, Vol. II, pp. 192, 193.

199. Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. II, pp. 67, 68.

wards the inhabitants of the country as if they were armed with the whole might of the British nation. Complaints began to pour in upon the Governor. One of the last of these was received from Jagat Seth to whom Vansittart sent the following reply on the 10th March, 1763:—"I have had the pleasure of receiving your letter wherein you write that the inhabitants of the village of Balygoculpore, which is a Talook you have purchased, are all run away on account of the violence committed by the people belonging to the English boats which bring to there, and that I should give strict orders concerning that affair. As the strictest orders have been given that no dependant of the English should on any account injure or oppress the Ryots, and I am by no means inclined to allow of such proceedings, and as I have the same regard for your business as my own, I therefore desire if any one is guilty of any violences or oppressions, that you will inform me of his name, together with all particulars, that I may put a stop to such doings."<sup>200</sup>

The letter meant nothing for, in truth, Vansittart had long before learnt that he was helpless in such matters. When he cautioned the Company's servants whose agents were concerned in these disorders they paid no attention to him. When he brought the complaints before the Council he was told they were only pretexts of the Nawab for quarrelling with them or for encroaching upon their rights. He found that the only result of his interference was that he made those interested his personal enemies. "In short," he says, "though the complaints became every day more frequent, yet not one was ever redressed, nor even thought worthy of an enquiry; and all that I could do was, by palliating what I could not remedy, to keep the Nabob in temper, and prevent an open quarrel from breaking out between us."<sup>201</sup>

An attempt made by Vansittart to end the dispute only made matters worse. He went to Monghyr, which the Nawab had made his residence in preference to Murshidabad, and drew up a number of regulations for the conduct of trade by the Company's servants. These were, however, regarded with the greatest hostility by a majority of the Council and Mir Kasim, who could not, or would not understand Vansittart's relation to his Council, was still further exasperated. At length, in March, 1763, the Nawab issued an order abolishing all tolls and customs for the space of two years and the Council, declaring that this was an infringement of his engagement with the Company sent Messrs. Amyatt and Hay to demand the annulment of the

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200. Long's Selections from Unpublished Records, p. 347.

201. Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. II, pp. 109, 110.

order. Matters were hastening towards a rupture and the Seths were involved in the dispute as the following extract from the *Seir Mutaqherin* will show:—

“ The Nawab, sensible of the opposition formed against him at Calcutta, and anxious to take every precaution necessary in a dispute of so much consequence, had harboured this long while heavy suspicions against the two Djagat-seats; nor did he think it consonant to the rules of prudence to leave two such men in Moorshoodabad at such a critical conjuncture. He remembered that they had been deeply concerned, both by their money and influence in transferring the supreme power from Seradj-ed-doulah to Mir-djaafer-qhan, and lately from Mir-djaafer-qhan to himself; and, being a great connoisseur in men’s tempers, as well as an enquirer into their characters, he dreaded the consequences of two such men remaining at Moorshoodabad, and so near Calcutta, at a time when his disputes with the English ran higher and higher and his difficulties with them were encreasing daily upon his hands. He therefore thought it incumbent upon him to have both of them these brothers in his power, at least; and, as he knew that so far from moving a foot on his sending them letters or orders, they would from that very moment apprehend for their safety, and contrive to escape to Calcutta, where they would prove of infinite service to his opposers, by their wealth, intrigues, and influence;—he therefore wrote to Mahmed-taky-qhan, who commanded in Birbohom, a man of an acknowledged bravery, and a sincere fidelity, requiring him to repair in all speed to Moorshoodabad, where he was to surround the house of the Djagat-seats in such a manner as that not a man might come out, and then to wait until Marcar, the Armenian, might arrive and bring him a letter; on the perusal of which, he was to deliver the two Seats in his hands, taking a receipt in form for the delivery of their persons. After writing the above order, he dispatched Marcar, an Armenian General, of Gurghin-qhan’s recommendation, and putting three or four regiments of Tallingas under his command, he ordered him to repair by water to Moorshoodabad, where he was to receive from Mahmed-taky-qhan the two Djagatseats, and to bring them in all speed to Monghyr, but without departing from a proper regard and attention to their persons and rank. Mahmed-taky-qhan, on receipt of the order, repaired in all speed to Moorshoodabad, where he closely surrounded the house of the two Djagat-seats, sending them word at the same time, “ That he had no injury to offer either to their persons, fortune, honour, or family; his orders were only to send them to Monghyr, where the Nawab wanted to see them reside near his person; and that he requested them to make themselves thoroughly easy on his own particular subject, as he had no harm to offer.” The two brothers, finding themselves reduced to the single party of submission, prepared for their journey. In three days more Marcar, the



Armenian, arrived with his Talingas, and the two brothers being delivered up to him, were carried to Monghyr. The Nawab received them with distinction, spoke to them with kindness, deplored the necessity of his affairs, soothed their minds, excused the rigor of his proceedings, and requested their living at Monghyr, where he hoped they would build lodgings for themselves, set up a banking-house, as they had at Moorshoodabad, attend at his court, as they did formerly, and, as formerly, transact business in the affairs of government and finance. He, at the same time, set them at full liberty, but people were secretly set upon them, with orders not to suffer them to go out to any great distance. The poor brothers were fain to order a banking-house to be raised for their lodgings, and found themselves obliged to accommodate themselves to the perfidy exercised on them."

It was just at this time that Amyatt and Hay arrived at Cassimbazar on their way to Monghyr and the former immediately reported the news of the carrying off of the Seths to the Governor. Vansittart concluded that the Seths had been treated in this manner on account of their connection with the English and on the 24th April, 1763, sent the following letter of remonstrance to the Nawab:—"I am just informed by a letter from Mr. Amyatt that Mahomed Tuckee Khan having marched with his army from Beerbhoom to Herageel went on the 21st instant at night to the house of Juggut Sett and Maharaja Siroop Chand, and carried them from their own house to Herageel, where he keeps them under a guard.

"This affair surprises me greatly; when your Excellency took the Government upon yourself, you and I and the Setts being assembled together, it was agreed that as they are men of high rank in the country, you shall make use of their assistance in managing your affairs and never consent that they should be injured; and when I had the pleasure of seeing you at Monghyr I then likewise spoke to you about them, and you set my heart at ease by assuring me that you would on no account do them any injury. The taking men of their rank in such an injurious manner out of their home is extremely improper and is disgracing them in the highest degree; it is moreover a violation of our agreement, and therefore reflects dishonour upon you and me, and will be a means of acquiring us in ill name from everybody. The abovementioned Gentlemen were never thus disgraced in the time of any former Nazims."

So the letter ends in Long's "Unpublished Records"<sup>202</sup> but it is plain from the Nawab's reply that the Governor ended his letter with a demand for the Seths' release. The Nawab's reply is dated the 2nd May. After repeating practically the whole of Vansittart's letter the Nawab proceeds: "In the affair of the Setts no person has to this time ever wrote any thing, nor spoken to me concerning them.

" Now that you write to me, with all these specious pretences, it is as manifest as the sun, that under the government of every Nazim of Bengal till now, Omichund (for instance) and every dependent of the English and these gentlemen too, attended on the Nazim, and assisted in the affairs of the sircar, at the same time that they carried on their mercantile concerns. God be praised, that you yourself write that I said, " these gentlemen are of consequence, it is proper to carry on my affairs with their intervention." For these three years that I have borne this burthen, and have repeatedly wrote to these gentlemen, to carry on their own business, and assist in the affairs of the Nizamut, they paid not the least regard to my summons, and have put a stop to all their mercantile business, and have done all they could, to throw the affairs of the Nizamut into confusion, and treated me as an enemy, and out-law, and refused to come. Now that I have sent my people, and brought them hither, it was not because they were intriguing with the English, but for the management of such of my affairs, as indispensably required it. Since the beginning, this was agreed upon between us, that these gentlemen, etc., should always attend upon the Nazim, and carry on both the business of the Nizamut, and their own. As to your writing to me in this manner, and knitting your brows without reason, and treating the covenants and treaties which are between us, like children's play, breaking entirely through them, as if you had not any kind of regard to them; what other construction can I devise for this? Whilst your people drag and carry away my aumils, and keep them in confinement; in this unjustifiable insolence of your people, which is oversetting the treaty between us, there is no diminution of character, no breach of faith, nor cause of reproach between us, neither is any violation of the treaty in this. But when I summon a man, who is my own dependent, the treaty is broke, and my administration becomes weak, and my name suffers in the sight of every one, but particularly in yours. O gracious God! this is a matter of astonishment, which my understanding cannot reach. In a word, that these gentlemen, from the first day, swore and agreed, that " wherever my life was, their life was, and wherever my business was, their business was." God be praised, that this is a fact known to all the world. Now I have brought them to this place, that they may always be with me and attend to my business and their own, according to custom. I know not, whether what you write in behalf of these gentlemen, be by way of intercession for them, or whether their names are included in our former treaty, which you have recourse to, when you charge me with breach of faith, and violation of former agreements, and reproach me with weakness, and a bad name. God be praised, that I have sent for them with no other design than for the currency of business, and for their continuance in one place neither, as in the case of Coja Wajeed, have I seized any person unjustly, nor charged my conscience

with the unjust death of any man. If you are resolved to put misconstructions on every proper and lawful action of mine, I am utterly without remedy; but if you regard equity, this matter is not of such consequence, as to give occasion for so much contention and reproach.

In the Nabob's Hand-writing.

Sir, Though it is agreed by the treaty between us, that I should never say anything in behalf of the servants and dependents of the Company, nor you, gentlemen, interfere in behalf of the servants and dependents of the Nizamut; yet you, gentlemen, have regarded all this as utterly obliterated, and in contradiction thereto persist in the violation of the treaty, and desire to raise your name, and establish your own customs. I am remediless."<sup>203</sup>

Messrs. Amyatt and Hay arrived at Monghyr in the middle of May and presented their demands to the Nawab. One of these demands was the release of the Seths but the Nawab hardened his heart and would not let them go. In other respects, too, the result of the deputation was unsatisfactory and events soon occurred which made war inevitable. A boat carrying arms to the English at Patna was seized by the Nawab as it was passing Monghyr. Mr. Ellis the Chief of the factory at Patna, an inveterate enemy of the Nawab, took possession of the city and though this was soon recaptured the news had driven the Nawab to frenzy. Amyatt, who had left Monghyr to return to Calcutta, was murdered near Murshidabad with all his attendants. The English re-instated Mir Jafar as Nawab and marched on Murshidabad. A battle placed the city in their hands and two more battles drove Mir Kasim from Monghyr. Mir Kasim, driven to madness by these defeats, vented his desire for blood on the helpless prisoners in his hands and among the victims were Jagat Seth Mahtab Rai and Maharaja Swarup Chand.

The usual account of the death of the Seths is that they were thrown into the Ganges from a tower in the fort of Monghyr. It is related, too, that Jagat Seth Mahtab Rai had a favourite servant, named Chuni, who entreated the executioners to put him to death with his master. The executioners refused his request, his master supplicated him to give up the idea, but he was resolute in his determination not to survive his master and threw himself into the river after Jagat Seth. Ten thousand boatmen, says the translator of the *Seir Mutaqherin*, passed every year, by the walls of Monghyr and there was not one of them who could not point to a certain tower of the fort of Monghyr as the scene of the tragic death of the Seths, every old woman in Monghyr knew by

202. p. 348.

203. Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. III, pp. 206—212.

heart the speech of Chuni to the executioners of his master and yet it would seem that the death of the Seths did not take place at Monghyr at all. The Seir Mutaqherin says that Mir Kasim carried them with him in his retreat to Patna and that they were hacked to pieces by his soldiers near the town of Bar the day after the death of Gurghin Khan, or Coja Gregory, as the English called him. The Riyazu-s-salatin also mentions that the death of Jagat Seth occurred after that of Gurghin Khan while Major Adams, the commander of the English troops against Mir Kasim wrote to the Council at Calcutta on the 18th October, 1763, "all accounts likewise agree. . . that the Seaths were put to death near Baur and their bodies not permitted to be burnt, but exposed under a Guard of Sepoys."<sup>204</sup> Instances of faithfulness and gratitude are rare in the annals of this time and therefore it is to be hoped that the story of the devoted Chunni was founded on truth and only distorted in details by popular rumour.

The Seths were not unprepared for their fate. From the day that Siraj-ud-daula ascended the masnad they had been forced to walk warily, continually haunted with the dread that the Nawab would one day find an opportunity of seizing them and taking possession of their vast wealth. Hence it was that they employed a guard of 2,000 men which watched over the house where they and their families lived and accompanied them when they went on pilgrimage. At Murshidabad, according to Sraffton, it was an invariable rule never to suffer the two of them to go out at the same time nor did one ever take out his own children but the children of the other.<sup>205</sup> In 1766, three years after the death of the two Seths Sraffton wrote:—"Jagatseat was a very great banker, whose ancestors had been long established in Bengal and during the Power of the Mogul used to mediate between the Subahs and the court of Delhi, and remit the revenues: he was also mediator between many of the Rajahs and the Subah who was always highly respected and esteemed: and the late head of the house was supposed to be possessed of many millions sterling: his assistance and support were necessary to the strength and reputation of the Government, and our protection was necessary to him, to preserve him against the designs of the government on his wealth."<sup>206</sup> This protection, Sraffton asserted, was solemnly promised to Jagat Seth by Lord Clive<sup>207</sup> and he was indignant with

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204. Long's Selection from Unpublished Records, p. 334.

205. Sraffton, Observations on Mr. Vansittart's Narrative (1766), p. 41.

206. Ibid. p. 2.

207. Ibid. p. 2. "We, in his (the Nawab's) presence, promised the Company's protection to Juggutseat and Roydullub, for their lives and honour as long as they remained firm in their allegiance to their master."

Vansittart for the fatal blow, which by his failure to protect the Seths and Ram Narain, the Governor dealt to the national reputation which Clive had established by a strict adherence to every engagement he had entered into.<sup>208</sup> "Had the army taken the field," Scrafton maintained, "the moment Ramnarain was put in irons, or the Seats confined, the war had been much more justifiable than in the support of privileges, to which they had no right."<sup>209</sup>

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208. Ibid, p. 44. "Lord Clive, by a strict adherence to every engagement he had entered into, had established such a national reputation, that I am convinced there was not a man in the three provinces, who would not have joined the English forces on a single letter: but the giving up the persons of Ramnarain and the Seats into the Subah's power, had so totally changed their sentiments of us, that English faith was now as much detested as it was before respected: and although Mir Cossim fought several battles and in each drew nearer to his ruin, not a single man joined us to the last."

209. Ibid, p. 45.

## CHAPTER 4.

## JAGAT SETH KHUSHAL CHAND AND MAHARAJA UDWAT CHUND.

Jagat Seth Mahtab Rai left four sons—Khusal Chand, Gulab Chand, Sumer Chand and Sukhal Chand. The eldest, Seth Khushal Chand became the third Jagat Seth and was confirmed in the title by the Emperor Shah Alam in 1766. While each of the others received the title of Seth from the Emperor. Maharaja Swarup Chand left three sons, the eldest of whom, Seth Udwat Chand, inherited his father's title of Maharaja. It would appear that when Mir Kasim carried off their fathers to Monghyr, Khushal Chand and Udwat Chand had remained at Murshidabad and the victories of the English soon removed them from the clutches of Mir Kassim. Seth Gulab Chand, a brother of Khushal Chand and Babu Mahir Chand, a brother of Udwat Chand, were not so fortunate. They had been carried off to Monghyr with their fathers, and, though they escaped death, they were forced to accompany Mir Kasim on his wanderings until, at last, they were handed over to the Emperor of Delhi and Vizier, the Nawab of Oudh. Mir Jafar wrote to the Vizier on their behalf from whom he received the following reply:—"I have had the pleasure to receive your two letters mentioning the arrival of the royal presents, and your desire that the Set's sons may be released, and I have represented in a proper manner to His Majesty the strength and firmness of your obedience. The high in station Raja Beny Bahadre will shortly arrive in the royal presence, and these matters will be settled and answers sent you." The Nawab's intervention was successful but Jagat Seth and his cousin had to pay a heavy ransom before the captives were released.

Mir Jafar survived his re-instatement as Nawab of Bengal for about a year and a half. He died at the end of January, 1765. Mr. Vansittart had left India by this time and his place had been taken by Mr. Spencer, who had been sent to Bengal from Bombay but Clive had been appointed Governor again and was on his way out at the time of Mir Jafar's death. Miran, the eldest son of Mir Jafar, had left a young son but Spencer and the Council decided to pass him over and make Najim-ud-daula, the second son of Mir, Jafar, Nawab of Bengal. For this they demanded and received presents amounting in all to nearly R140,000. This was all the more reprehensible because on the 24th January they had received positive orders from the Court of Directors that all servants and persons in the Company's service should sign covenants binding them not to accept, directly or indirectly, from Indian princes, any grant of land lands, rents, or territorial dominion, or any present whatever exceeding the value

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1. Long's Selection from Unpublished Records, p. 355.

of four thousand rupees, without the consent of the Court of Directors.<sup>2</sup> This order was quietly shelved and the proceedings of the Council were thus reported to the Court of Directors by Clive:—

“The opportunity of acquiring immense fortunes was too inviting to be neglected, and the temptation too powerful to be resisted. A treaty was hastily drawn up by the Board, or rather transcribed, with a few unimportant additions from that concluded with Meer Jaffir, and a deputation consisting of Messrs. Johnstone, Senior, Middleton and Leycester appointed to raise the natural son of the deceased Nabob to the Subahdarry, in prejudice of the claim of the grandson, and for this measure such reason are assigned as ought to have dictated a diametrically opposite resolution. Meeran’s son was a minor, which circumstance alone would naturally have brought the whole administration into our hands, at a juncture when it became indispensably necessary we should realize that shadow of power and influence, which having no solid foundation was exposed to the danger of being annihilated by the first stroke of adverse fortune. But this inconsistency was not regarded, nor was it material to the views for precipitating the treaty, which was pressed on the young Nabob at the first interview in so earnest and indelicate a manner as highly disgusted him and chagrined his ministers; whilst not a single rupee was stipulated for the Company, and their interests were sacrificed that their servants might revel in the spoils of a Treasury before impoverished but now totally exhausted.”<sup>3</sup>

Such proceedings upon the part of members of the Council were now put a stop to for ever. Clive arrived in Bengal on the 3rd May 1765 and took charge of the government. On the 6th he assembled the Council. The Company’s instructions were read and the names of the members who had been appointed to form a Select Committee to assist Clive in restoring order to the Company’s affairs. The members of Council would have liked to dispute the powers of the Committee and the meaning of the general letter from the Court of Directors but they soon found that they had not a Vansittart to deal with. Mr. Leysester was told that no discussion on such a question would be allowed but he could record his dissent on the face of the consultations. Mr. Johnstone was asked whether he dared to dispute the Committee’s authority and when he replied that he had not the least intention of doing such a thing “there was an appearance of very long and pale countenances, and not one of the Council uttered another syllable.”<sup>4</sup>

2. Malcolm’s Life of Clive, Vol. II, p. 330 (note).

3. Long’s Selections from Unpublished Records, p. 422.

4. Clive to General Carnac, 6th May, 1765, (Malcolm’s Life of Clive, Vol. II, p. 320). Clive to Palk, 11th May, (Malcolm’s Life of Clive, Vol. II, p. 324).

A few days after the arrival of Clive in India the Nawab paid him and the members of the Committee a visit in the course of which he gave a letter "filled with bitter complaints of the insults and indignities he had been exposed to, and of the embezzlement of near 20 Lacs of Rupees issued from his Treasury for purpose unknown during the late negotiations." "So public a complaint," wrote Clive, "could not be disregarded, and it soon produced an enquiry."<sup>5</sup> The Select Committee met on the 1st June and took this letter into their consideration upon which they resolved that "that Mahomed Reza Cawn, since the Death of the late Nabob, has distributed among certain Persons, near Twenty Lacks of Rupees—and that it is incumbent upon them to discover to whom such Sums have been paid, and for what Consideration: in order that the most effectual Measures may be pursued, to remedy for the present, and to prevent for the future any dangerous Consequences which may have arisen, or which may arise, not only to the Country Government, but likewise to the Company, from such Practices."<sup>6</sup>

On the 6th June Muhammad Reza Khan, the Nawab's deputy, was called upon to account for the large disbursements he had made from the treasury and delivered to the Committee what Clive calls a "most extraordinary narrative" in which "he specifies the several names, the sums by whom paid and to whom, whether in bills, cash or obligations. So precise, so accurate an account as this of money issued for secret and venal services, was never, we believe, before this period exhibited to the Hon'ble Court of Directors, at least never vouched by such undeniable testimony and authentic documents; by Juggut Seat who himself was obliged to contribute largely to the sums demanded; by Mootyram who was employed by Mr. Johnstone in all these pecuniary transactions; by the Nawab and Mahomed Reza Khan who were the heaviest sufferers; and lastly by the confession of the Gentlemen themselves, whose names are specified in the distribution list."<sup>7</sup>

Jagat Seth Khushal Chand, who had complained that sums of money had been unduly obtained from him by the deputation sent to Murshidabad, also appeared at this meeting of the Committee and submitted a narrative on the subject of his complaint. When examining him on this Lord Clive desired him to be most attentive to adhere to the truth whereupon Jagat Seth replied with warmth that he had put his seal to the narrative "and that that would go for a Crore of Rupees."<sup>8</sup> The narrative of Jagat Seth ran thus:—

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5. Long's Unpublished Records, p. 422.

6. Third Report of Select Committee of House of Commons, p. 315.

7. Long's Selections from Unpublished Records, p. 422.

8. General Carnac's Evidence. Thidr Report of Select Committee of House of Commons, p. 321.



"When Mr. Johnstone and other gentlemen of Council, went to Moorshedabad, and applied themselves to the Regulation of the whole Subahdarry, they sent me the following Message by Mootyram:—" Make us some Acknowledgement, and we will settle all your Business according to your Heart's Desire, otherwise we shall be displeased, and your Business meet with no Assistance; for you formerly made an Acknowledgment to Lord Clive and other Gentlemen." I informed them that Lord Clive never said a Word on this subject, and that I did not give him even a single Daum. They sent me a Message in Answer as follows:—" You may not be acquainted with it, but your Fathers made an Acknowledgment; give us Five Laaks of Rupees." I answered, "Our Fathers never did give Lord Clive a single Daum." They replied, "If you would wish to have your Business go freely on, make us some Acknowledgement." Being remediless, I consented to give 125,000 Rupees; 50,000 immediately, and the rest when I could collect in my debts from the Country. The Gentlemen agreed to this and accordingly I sent them 50,000 Rupees by my Muttasuddies and Mootyram: In fine, there were none of my debts collected in when Mr. Johnstone, etc., returned to Calcutta: and I also came to Calcutta to pay my Respects to Lord Clive: so that thus the affair rested. Enquiry having been made of me, I have written these Particulars, in which there is by no means a Word of Untruth.

Written the 15th of Zechidja of  
the 6th Year, 5th June, 1765.

A True Translation.  
George Vansittart  
Persian Translator.<sup>9</sup>

On the 7th and 8th Mooteram, Governor of Hugli, was examined by the Committee in the presence of Jagat Seth and Muhammad Reza Khan, in order to determine whether he had been authorised to demand money of the Seths or "whether he presumed to prostitute the Character of the Gentlemen of the Deputation by making use of their names without the sanction of their express authority."<sup>10</sup>

His examination was as follows:—

Q. Did you go to Juggut Seet to demand money?

A. I did.

Q. Who sent you to Juggut Seet?

A. Mahomed Reza Cawn sent Ismael Ally Cawn with me to Juggut Seet.

Q. Who sent you to Mahomed Reza Cawn?

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9. Third Report of Select Committee of House of Commons, p. 414.

10. Ibid.

A. Mr. Johnstone.

Q. What Message did you carry from Mr. Johnstone to Mahomed Reza Cawn?

A. I was ordered to desire him to ask the Seets for presents.

Q. Did any of the other Gentlemen join in this message to Mahomed Reza Cawn?

A. I had my Order from Mr. Johnstone only.

Q. Did Mr Johnstone send you in his own Name, or in that of the the Deputation?

A. He sent me in his own, and in the names of Messieurs Senior, Leycester and Middleton.

Q. What passed when you went to Mahomed Reza Cawn: did you ask him for Money from the Seets?

A. I did, I asked him for Three Laacks.

Q. What Day did you go to Mahomed Reza Cawn?

A. I cannot say for certain, but the Affair was about Twenty Days in settling.

Q. Can't you determine within a Day or Two of the Time you first mention?

A. I cannot, but it was about the Twenty-first of Rumsaun.

Q. What Answer had you from Mahomed Reza Cawn when you desired he would make this Demand on the Seets?

A. He first said, "Very well, I'll try what I can do; but on my application, he said, "It was very improper to ask Money of the Seets—it will get me a bad Name."

Q. Do you confess the Contents of Juggut Seet's Letter to be true?

A. I do.

Q. What did you say to Mahomed Reza Cawn about stopping the Business of the Seets unless they complied with the Demand?

A. I did tell him, that the Gentlement would protect their Business, if they would make a Present; if not, the Business of the Seets would meet with no Protection or Countenance.

Q. You say that Ismael Ally Cawn was sent with you to the Seets; what passed there?

A. When Ismael Ally Cawn demanded Three Laaks of Rupees for the Gentlemen Juggut Seet answered, "If the Gentlemen will be satisfied with Rings, Jewells, and such Presents, from Ten to Twenty-five thousand Rupees, I will comply." But on Ismael Ally Cawn's pressing him farther, he agreed to give 50,000, which was not accepted; and then Juggut Seet said "Well, I will speak to Mahomed Reza Cawn myself."

Q. Who was present at all this Conversation?

A. I was, but did not speak.

Q. Do you know how the Affair was settled?

A. Yes, I heard that Juggut Seet afterwards consented to give 75,000 Rupees, then he rose to a Laak, and at last consented to give 125,000. This I heard from Mahomed Reza Khan.

Juggut Seet being present at this Examination, was asked, "If he ever communicated the Conversation between him and Mootyram, as set forth in his Letter?" He answered, "Yes, to my Brother, to Brigauloul my Mounshy and to Chiskimull my Vakeel."

Q. Did you demand the Money of the Seets in your own Name, or on the Gentlemen's Account?

A. I demanded it on Account of the Gentlemen surely and those that sent me.

Q. When the Money was sent by Juggut Seet to M. R. Cawn's House, did he forward it immediately to Mr. Johnstone at Mootyjill in a Stackeree, and was Mr. Johnstone angry?

A. He did forward it to Mootyjill in a Stackeree, with which Mr. Johnstone was angry, and said, "Why was not the Money given to Mootyram, or sent more privately."

Q. You are charged by Jagat Seet with having visited him Thrice, once when he was alone, once in presence of Ismael Ally Cawn, and once when his Brother was with him. Is this true?

A. It is true, I did visit him Thrice.

Q. Had you any Conversation with him about the Demand in any of these Visits?

A. I had I must confess. At the time I visited Juggut Seet when he was alone, he told me he would agree to give 75,000 Rupees to the Gentlemen, and desired I would represent to them that his Circumstances would not afford more, which I promised to do.

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Q. Was it of your own Accord, or was you ordered to tell Mahomed Reza Cawn, that if the Seets complied with their Demand, their Business should be protected, otherwise it would have no Countenance or Encouragement?

A. I was ordered by Mr. Johnstone.

Q. Is this Evidence which you give true in every Circumstance, according to the best of your Judgement?

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11. Here follow questions relating to the Nawab.

A. It is, and I never will retract it; but if there should appear any Thing contradictory or unsatisfactory at first, it was owing to the Confusion I was under when brought before this Company.<sup>12</sup>

On the 18th June Mooteram attended a meeting of the whole Council. The evidence he had given to the Select Committee was read to him and he confirmed the whole of it except in the following particulars.

“To the first question, he now said, that he did go to Juggut Seet, by Mahomed Reza Cawn’s orders, with Ishmael Aly Cawn, but not to ask for Money.

To the Question, What did you say to Mahomed Reza Cawn about stopping the Business of the Seets, unless they complied with the Demand? he answered to the same Purport as to the Committee, but made use only of the Term, *Cootch Boolega ny*, for what is rendered by the Committee, Meeting with no Protection or Countenance, whereupon the Committee observed, that he indifferently and repeatedly made use of both the Expressions *Cootch Syeur riga Ny* and *Boolega Ny*.

In his Answer to the subsequent Question, he now differed, saying, that Juggut Seet made no Offer of Rings or Jewels, but told them only, that as far as Twenty or Five and Twenty Thousand Rupees he would comply: that Ishmael Aly Cawn then said, that would not do: and Juggut Seet replied, that he would then speak to Mahomed Reza Cawn himself: and that when he went to him, he proposed the Sum of 50,000 Rupees.

To the Question, Was it of your own Accord, or was you ordered to tell Mahomed Reza Cawn that if the Seets complied with the Demand, their Business should be protected, otherwise it would have no Countenance or Encouragement? he confirmed his Answer to the Committee, using only the same Expression already remarked.

The Examination having been concluded.

Mr. Leycester desired the following Question might be put to Mootyram: If when Mr Johnstone related to him the Reasons why he thought the Seets might make Presents, whether he ordered him to mention them to Mahomed Reza Cawn and to desire Mahomed Reza Cawn would urge them to the Seets? which being put to him accordingly, he replied, That Mr. Johnstone did tell him to express himself to Mahomed Reza Cawn in the same terms which Mr. Johnstone did to him.

Mr. Leycester, in addition to the several Minutes already entered in Vin-

12. The signature of Clive, W. B. Sumner, H. Verelst and Fra. Sykes are appended to this examination. Third Report of Select Committee of House of Commons, pp. 415, 416.

dication of his Conduct.....desired further to take the following oath, which was accordingly administered to him by the President: viz.

I swear that I am totally ignorant of the Messages said to be delivered by Mootyram to the Seets. So help me God.

(Signed) Ralph Leycester.<sup>13</sup>

Three questions arise with regard to this case. The first is this. Did the members of the Council receive these sums of money from the Nawab Mahomed Reza Khan and Jagat Seth? There is no doubt about the answer to this question. The members of Council acknowledged that they had received the presents and even tried to justify their conduct in this matter.

But were the presents freely given or extracted from the Nawab and Muhammad Reza Khan by pressure and extorted from Jagat Seth by menaces? The final judgment of the Select Committee on this point which was sent home to the Court of Directors was as follows:—"Juggut Seat expressly declares in his narrative, that the sum he agreed to pay the deputation, amounting to Rs. 1,25,000 was extorted by menaces, and since the close of our enquiry and the opinions we delivered in the proceedings of the 21st June, it fully appears that the presents from the Nabob and Mahomed Reza Khan exceeding the immense sum of 17 Lacs, were not the voluntary offerings of gratitude, but contributions levied on the weakness of the Government, and violently exacted from the dependant state and timid disposition of the Minister."<sup>14</sup> It will be noticed that the Committee express no opinion on the narrative of Jagat Seth but leave us to infer that Jagat Seth's statement had been convincing to them. And this would be a correct inference. Mr Sumner, a member of the Select Committee, afterwards altered his views with reference to the presents made by the Nawab and Muhammad Reza Khan and stated in his evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons that he thought they had been freely and voluntarily given but he declared that the evidence with respect to Jagat Seth remained unanswered.<sup>15</sup> General Carnac, in his evidence before the same Committee, stated that the Seths were not in the habit of making presents and he could remember no instance of their having done so before this period.<sup>16</sup> Mr. Leycester returned his present to Jagat Seth as soon as he heard that Jagat Seth had not given it with his free will and consent. General Carnac was at Murshidabad at the time and Jagat Seth, at a loss what to do in the matter, applied to him for advice. The

13. Consultation, Fort William, 18th June, 1765. Third Report of Select Committee of House of Commons, p. 438.

14. Long's Selections from Unpublished Records, p. 422.

15. Third Report of Select Committee of House of Commons, p. 317.

16. Ibid. p. 319.

General's advice was that if he had given the present willingly he should allow Mr Leycester to keep it but if not he should receive it back. Jagat Seth received it back and asked General Carnac whether he supposed any other member of the deputation would follow Mr. Leycester's example.<sup>17</sup> Undoubtedly then the presents were extorted from Jagat Seth by means of menaces.

The third question is, who was responsible for the use of these menaces? After hearing the evidence of Mootyram and reading the statements of the members of the deputation of the Council who went to Murshidabad the Select Committee unanimously decided that Messrs. Senior, Middleton and Leycester were not concerned in the menaces used by Mootyram while with respect to Mr. Johnstone they said "he appears, from the evidence entered in our Proceedings, to have been a principal agent and manager in obtaining and distributing the presents, but unacquainted, they would willingly suppose, with the menaces used by Mootyram, in his name, to Mahomed Reza Cawn and Juggut Seet, in order to extort a sum of money, from the latter, for the use of the deputation"<sup>18</sup> and echoing that hope we may leave the matter.

One curious fact is disclosed by the records of this case. A large part of the present made by the Nawab was paid by means of bills. One for Rs. 50,000 was drawn on "Seet Manan Chund and Annan Chund" while another, for a like amount was drawn on "Juggut Seet Futter Chund and Seet Anan Chund at Hoogly."<sup>19</sup> Both were in favour of Mootyram and payable at ten days' sight. Now all the bills used for the payment of the presents with the exception of two drawn on a banker of Murshidabad named Mootychund and one on a banker unnamed at Dacca, were drawn on the house of Jagat Seth. "Seet Manan Chund and Annan Chund" is therefore the house of Jagat Seth and Manan is a mistake for Manik Chand. The incident shows that as late as the year 1765 the names of Manik Chand and Fateh Chand were still used to designate the house of Jagat Seth.

On the 25th June Clive proceeded to Murshidabad in order to make an agreement with the Nawab by which the power of the Company might be placed upon a solid foundation. By this agreement the defence of the province was placed entirely in the hands of the Company and to support the army necessary for this purpose and also to pay the large sums still due to the Company as restitution for the losses it had suffered and to pay the tribute to the

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17. Ibid. p. 321.

18. Third Report of Select Committee of House of Commons, p. 313.

19. Ibid. p. 414.

Emperor, all the revenues of the province were handed over to the Company with the exception of 53 laks or £600,000, which was reserved to the Nawab for the expenses of his court and the administration of justice. Clive states that the young Nawab was delighted with an arrangement which placed a sum of money at his own will and pleasure and the only reflection he made when Clive left was, "Thank God! I shall now have as many dancing girls as I please."<sup>20</sup> At the same time the administration of the affairs of the three provinces was entrusted to a board of ministers consisting of Muhammad Reza Khan, Rai Durlabh Ram and Jagat Seth, for whose guidance Clive drew up the following paper:—

*Regulations for the Provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriza*

The Nabob Nudjum-ul-Dowlah, Meer Nudjum-ul-Deen, Ally Cawn Bahadre, *Nazim*.

The Nabob Maeen-ul-Doulah Syed Mahomed Reza Cawn Bahadre, *Nayb*.  
Mharaja Doolabram Br., *Dewann*.

Juggut Seet Cooshaul-chund and Mharaja Odweichund, *Chiefs of Trade*.

The appointing and displacing of the Fougders, Aumils, and other Officers of the Nizamut, and the Regulations of the whole Business of the Revenues and the Country under his Excellency, shall be managed by the Nabob Maeen-ul-Dowlah Br. Mharaja Doolabram Br. and the Seths and his Excellency shall consent thereto.

If any One be oppressed, his Effects seized, or his Life endangered, the aforesaid Gentlemen shall use their Endeavours to put a Stop to such Proceedings, and if they suspect that it is not in their Power to put a Stop to them, they shall advise the Governor with all speed, that he may inform the Gentlemen of the Council or Committee of such Proceedings, and put a Stop to them.

After the necessary Expenses of Government have been provided for, if there be any Overplus, it shall be deposited in the public Treasury, under the Care of the aforesaid Gentlemen: and there shall be Three different Locks to the Door of the Treasury, and Three Keys: One to remain in the Possession of each of the aforesaid Gentlemen, that neither of them may be able to take out any Money without the Consent of the others.

Of these Three Gentlemen Maeen-ul-Dowlah Br. Mharaja Doolabram, and the Seets, if any one act contrary to the Opinion of the other Two, those two shall give Advice thereof to the Governor, that he may lay the matter before the Gentlemen of the Council or Committee and take proper Measures on the Occasion.

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20. Clive to Veralst, (Malcolm's Life of Clive, Vol. III, p. 125.)

Such Number of Horse and Foot shall be kept up as the aforesaid Gentlemen shall judge necessary for the Business of the Collections, and all needless and improper Expenses shall be reduced.

Let them remove from the Durbar all mischievous Men, deceitful and evil Counsellors, and not put it in their Power to make any Disturbance.

Let not the aforesaid Gentlemen go to the Durbar without each other's Knowledge, nor attempt any Thing to each other's Prejudice.

For the Preservation of Friendship and Harmony, and the Care of the Nabob's Affairs, and the Company's Money, a Gentleman of Council, of Probity and Abilities shall be appointed to reside at the Capital, on the Part of the Company. A monthly Allowance shall be made him by the Government, proportionable to his Rank; and the Accounts of the Receipts and Expenses, for the Business of the Government etc., shall be laid before him monthly for his Perusal."<sup>21</sup>

An annual allowance was made to the three ministers. Muhammad Reza Khan had nine laks,<sup>22</sup> but the records consulted do not mention the allowance granted to Rai Durlabh Ram and the Seths. The Seths did not accept their appointment with any enthusiasm. They were by no means ambitious men, said General Carnac, and would gladly have dispensed with the share in the Government that was given them.<sup>23</sup> This plan of giving stability to the Nawab's government was also in danger of being subverted through the ambition of Rai Durlabh Ram and the excessive moderation or timidity of Muhammad Reza Khan so that Mr. Sykes, the Resident at Murshidabad, had to be instructed to keep a watchful eye over this minister and check every symptom he showed of aspiring to a greater share of the administration than had been allotted to him.<sup>24</sup> However in the treaty made in 1766 with the next Nawab, Seif-ud-daula, and in that of 1770 made with his successor, Mubarik-ud-daula, the same arrangement was continued.

On the 12th August, 1765, the Emperor Shah Alam made a formal grant of the Diwani, or financial administration of Bengal, Behar and Orissa to the Company and Clive immediately appointed Jagat Seth Khushal Chand to be the Company's banker.

The fortunes of the Seths were now on the decline. As early as May 10th, 1765, they had written to Clive in the following strain:—"What shall we say or write or how sufficiently complain of our distressed situation? The tyrant

21. Third Report of Select Committee of House of Commons, pp. 421, 422.

22. Fourth Report from the Committee of Secrecy, p. 120.

23. First Report of Select Committee of House of Commons, p. 319.

24. Third Report of Select Committee of House of Commons, pp. 323, 427.



Meer Cossim causelessly called our fathers from hence in the most disgraceful manner, treated them with such violence and oppression as perhaps never before happened to any one even in a dream or in imagination, and unjustly put them to death. All the effects they had with them he plundered, and our younger brothers Set Golaub Chund and Baboo Mehirschund he carried with him, delivered them into the hands of the Mutasadies of the Imperial Court in lieu of a very large sum of money. For a long time they were kept prisoners and used with the greatest severity, and at length a very large sum was extorted from them which they were obliged partly to borrow and partly to raise by pawning jewels, and they were then released. Part of this money we have paid off by coining or selling our household utensils and jewels, and we are now distressed and embarrassed to find out means for discharging the rest."<sup>25</sup>

We do not possess Clive's reply to this letter but, no doubt the reply was an encouraging one and we have seen that Clive showed his regard for the family by appointing Jagat Seth one of the Nawab's ministers and treasurer to the Company. On the 24th November we find him writing to Jagat Seth:—"You are not ignorant what attention and support I always showed to your father, and how cordially I have continued it to you and the remainder of the family. Reflect only upon the manner in which I received you and how constantly I have given you proofs of my regard. It cannot, therefore, but be matter of great concern to me to learn that you do not consider seriously what part you ought to act to establish your own credit and public interest. Instead of keeping up to the original intention and necessity of having the Treasury under 3 separate keys, I find all the money has been lodged with your family in your house, and that you have been consenting at least to the farming of the Bengal province under the rents I am assured it will bear. I am informed also that you have been pressing the Zemindars to discharge their debts to your fathers at a time when they are 5 months in arrear to the Government. This is a step I can by no means approve of or allow. You are still a very rich House, but I greatly fear that tendency you seem to have to avarice will not only turn greatly to your disadvantage, but at the same time destroy that opinion I had of your inclination and disposition to promote the public good."<sup>26</sup>

In the same year we find that the Select Committee borrowed a lak and a half of rupees from Jagat Seth.<sup>27</sup> In April, 1766, Clive was again at Murshidabad. While there the Seths laid a claim before him for between fifty and sixty laks of rupees. Lord Clive in consultation with General Carnac and Mr.

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25. Long's Selections from Unpublished Records, p. 416.

26. Long's Selections from Unpublished Records, p. 413.

27. Long's Selections from Unpublished Records, p. 461.

Sykes, decided that the Government were not responsible for 30 laks of this which had been lent to Mir Jafar for the support of the military officers of Mir Jafar but 21 laks had been lent to Mir Jafar for the support of his and the English army and they decided that this claim was just and reasonable. They recommended to the Council that this sum should be repaid, half by the Company and half by the Nawab, within the space of ten years.<sup>28</sup> On May 16th, 1768, the Court of Directors in sending their approval of this arrangement, added "family, who have suffered so much in our Cause, are peculiarly entitled to our Protection."<sup>29</sup>

Before Lord Clive left India in January, 1767, he is said to have offered Jagat Seth Khushal Chand a yearly pension of three laks of rupees which the latter declined. As Clive had said they were still a rich house and three laks of rupees might still be considered a comparatively insignificant sum by Jagat Seth Khushal Chand. There may have been signs that the years of plenty were coming to an end but if so, he paid no heed to them. We are told that his expenses amounted to a lak of rupees a month. In addition he made large donations to the Jain temples on the sacred hill of Paras-nath in Hazaribagh. "The oldest and most celebrated temple there is thought to have been built by them. The images within bear a Sanscrit inscription, showing that they were placed there in 1768 by Shuogal Chand and Hoshiyal Chand. This is the temple now maintained by the panchayat of Murshidabad merchants. In a temple on the slope of the hill the images all show by their inscriptions that they were consecrated in 1765 by Shuogal Chand Jagat Seth; and each one of the many gumtis or petty shrines, which are scattered over the hill, purports to have been consecrated by the same man, who is apparently a brother of Khushal Chand. Another of the three chief temples is inscribed with the date 1816, and the name of Rup Chand Jagat Seth; and this apparently is the only temple still kept up at the expense of the family. It is stated to be in connection with the Digambara sect of Jains, but it is universally acknowledged that the Seths themselves used to belong to the rival sect of Svetambaras."<sup>30</sup>

The lean years were heralded by the great famine of 1770, which carried off one-third of the peasants and ruined two-thirds of the old aristocracy of Lower Bengal.<sup>31</sup> Then the allowance which the Seths received as ministers of

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28. Long's Selections from Unpublished Records, p. 437.

29. Fourth Report from the Committee of Secrecy, p. 122.

30. Hunter's Statistical Account of Bengal, IX p. 264.

31. Hunter, Annals of Rural Bengal, p. 56.

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the Nawab was stopped and<sup>32</sup> and when, in 1772, Warren Hastings transferred the Government Treasury from Murshidabad to Calcutta the Seths ceased to be the bankers of the Company. Whether the prodigal expenditure of Khushal Chand exhausted the accumulated treasures of the family cannot be known for certainty. The story preserved in the family states that these were kept buried in the earth by Khushal Chand and that death came upon him with such suddenness that he was unable to disclose the secret of the hiding place. He died in 1783. His only son had died four years before him and after the death of this son he adopted Harakh Chand who succeeded him.

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32. Fourth Report from the Committee of Secrecy, p. 120.

## CHAPTER 5.

## CONCLUSION.

When Warren Hastings was on his last tour to Upper India previous to his departure for England we are told that he received a petition from Khushal Chand praying that he might be re-instated in his hereditary office of receiver and treasurer of the Government revenues and that the Governor-General replied "your father rendered very important services to the British Government and for its establishment in the East; should it please God, on my return from my tour your wishes shall be fulfilled." When he returned he found that Khushal Chand was dead and his adopted son Harakh Chand was a minor. The Governor General expressed great sorrow at the news of Khushal Chand's death and at once interested himself in behalf of Harakh Chand. He wrote to the Nawab Mubarak-ud-daula:—"Nawab Sahib of exalted rank and dignity, admirer of the brethren, may you live long.

"After expressing my earnest desire, which cannot be described in writing for the happiness of an interview with you, I bring to your kind notice that a robe of honour consisting of six pieces, an ornament that is worn on the turban, a turban set with jewels, a necklace of pearls, an ear-ring with pearls and a palanquin with frills have been sent by me, through Sir John Daly to the kind gentleman, Seth Harakh Chand Sahib. I hope your noble self will be pleased to confer on the said Seth the title of Jagat Seth, to give him a seal and to allow him the privilege of being looked upon with the esteem and respect that his family have received this long time."

The Nawab's reply, dated the 11th March, 1784, was as follows: "Your esteemed letter—intimating that a robe of honour consisting of six pieces, together with an ornament that is worn in the turban, a turban set with jewels, a necklace of pearls, an ear-ring and a palanquin with frills have been sent by your noble self to Seth Harakh Chand, through Sir John Daly, a gentleman kind and helpful to his sincere friends; and that myself may confer on the said Seth the title of Jagat Seth, may give him a seal and allow him the privilege of being looked upon with esteem and respect as his family has been for a long time—having reached here, afforded great pleasure to my heart and gave me satisfaction in every way. May God spare your noble self—full of bounty, endowed with excellent qualities, incomparable in fulfilling the wishes of, and in doing favours to people high and low—to live long with safety and dignity.

As the said Seth has been honoured and exalted with the robe of honour I

also have given him, as desired by you, the seal with the inscription Jagat Seth Harakh Chand engraved on it.”<sup>1</sup>

Thus Harakh Chand was confirmed in the title of Jagat Seth without any reference to the Court at Delhi.

The translator of the *Seir Mutaqherin* states that during the course of the troubles that fell upon Bengal the property of the Seths had been made away with everywhere and he thus contrasts the circumstances of the family in the time of Harakh Chand with their wealth in the time of Jagat Seth Fateh Chand “Will a Jagatseat now, after having been plundered by the Marhattas of full two Corors in Arcot. Rupees only, give government the next six months bills of exchange for 50, 60 and a 100 lacks, payable at sight?—So far from that, Jagatseat has not been able to pay, but by instalments a bill of 140,000 rupees in 1787.” Harakh Chand’s pecuniary difficulties are said to have been removed by the inheritance of the fortune of an uncle, Gulab Chand.

Harakh Chand was the first of the family who abandoned the Jain religion and joined the sect of the Vaishnavs. He was childless and being extremely anxious to have a son he faithfully followed all the ceremonies enjoined by the Jain religion in such a case but with no result. At length a member of the Vaishnav sect advised him to propitiate Vishnu. He did so and obtained his desire. A son was born to him whom he named Indra Chand and three years afterwards another son was born who was named Vishnu Chand. Two years later he showed his gratitude by erecting the temple which has been described in a former chapter. Over the temple is an inscription in Sanskrit which has been translated thus:—“There was in the family of the Jagat Seths a scion named Sumer Chand, son of Mahtab Rai who was famous throughout the world and possessed wealth surpassing that of Kuvera. His son Harakh Chand was known for his great piety and excellence. He became the disciple of Ramaju Das, an ascetic of the Vaishnava sect, who had come from the Vindhya Mountains and whose virtues shone resplendent like the moon. He consecrated this temple to the God Hari as a token of his gratitude to his preceptor in the year 1857 Samvat (1801 A.D.) May increased prayers be offered to the god at this place. Dated Monday the fifth day after the full moon in the month of Magh of the Samvat year 1857.”

A modern writer is wrong in his conjecture that Harakh Chand lost prestige among the Jains by his change of religion. He and his successors have been respected as much as before by the members, of their old religion. In fact it is doubtful whether the members of this family ever renounced

1. Copies of the Persian originals of these letters were supplied to the writer by the kindness of Khondkar Fazel Rubbee Khan Bahadur, Diwan to the Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad.

entirely their Jain religion. They continued to perform their funeral rites and marriage ceremonies in the manner in which they had been performed by their ancestors in Rajputana and as all the Oswals in the district of Murshidabad, who remained Jains, performed theirs. Not only so but they had their Jain gods;\* they paid the expenses incurred for the worship of those gods and even worshipped them themselves and listened to the words of the sacred books of the Jains.

Harakh Chand died in 1814 and was succeeded by his son Indra Chand who became the fifth Jagat Seth. Nine years later he followed his father to the grave. His title of Jagat Seth was recognised by the British Government. His brother Vishnu Chand received the title of Seth from the Nawab Nazim Deler Jang.

Gobind Chand, the son of Indra Chand, was the sixth Jagat Seth. He is said to have dissipated the remaining wealth of his ancestors. The following letter will help us to understand this and at the same time will show that the British Government still remembered the importance which was once attached to the title of Jagat Seth. The letter is from the Secretary to the Government of India and is addressed to "Juggut Seith Gobind Chand."

My Esteemed Friend.

I have had the pleasure of receiving your letter returning your thanks for permission to use a carriage and four and soliciting some Troopers for the same and other matters.

In reply I am directed by His Honor the Governor-General to intimate to you that it is not usual to allow Troopers, and a Sunnod is considered unnecessary.

I am further directed to inform you that Government cannot interfere between you and His Highness the Nawab Nazim.

Whenever you wish to proceed to Lucknow, and to Gwalior and Hydrabad, for which of course you must previously obtain the sanction of the Ruling Authorities of those States, a Passport will be granted to you, but it is unusual and objectionable on such occasions as the present to grant Letters of Introduction to the Residents at the Courts to which you wish to proceed.

I remain,

With much consideration,

Your sincere Friend,

(Sgd.) W. H. MACNAGHTEN,

*Secretary to the Government.*

Council Chamber,  
23rd March, 1835.

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\* Some were of gold, some of silver, some of rare stone,, some studded with jewels. Lord Curzon who saw them in 1902 remarked that he had never seen such curious idols before (Note by head of family).

When Jagat Seth Gobind Chand found himself forced to sell the family jewels he applied to the British Government for help and was granted a pension of Rs. 1,200 a month. The letter from the Court of Directors to the Governor-General of India, sanctioning the pension, runs as follows:—

1. In your Political letter dated 18th January (No. 1) 1843 you transmit to us two petitions from the widow and son of the late Jagatseth Indra Chand of Murshidabad representing their fallen fortunes and praying for a provision.

2. The petitioners are the representatives of the family and mercantile firm of Jagat Seth Mahtab Rao whose attachment to British interests and whose services to our Government in times when such services were peculiarly valuable are matter of History.

3. It does not appear that the present applicants have personally any peculiar claim upon us and the decline of the family seems to have been owing as much to mismanagement as to any unavoidable cause.

4. In acknowledgement however of the former merits of the House towards the British Government we acquiesce in your recommendation and that of Major-General Roper, the Agent at Murshidabad, for the grant of Rs. 1,200 per month to the present head of the family, Jagat Seth Gobind Chand. The family should be informed that the grant is for life only.”

In 1844 Gobind Chand's cousin Seth Kissen Chand, the son of Seth Vishnu Chand, also applied for a provision. The Court of Directors, however, replied “When we granted a pension of Rs. 1,200 to Gobind Chand, it was with the intention of providing for the family and not for the individual and as it appears that Gobind Chand has no children we think he may reasonably be expected to set apart a portion of his stipend for the support of his cousin.”<sup>3</sup> However Jagat Seth Gobind Chand continued to hold the pension entirely at his own disposal until towards the close of 1858 when the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, in spite of the earnest protests of the Governor-General's Agent at Murshidabad, directed that one fourth of the pension should be appropriated to Seth Kissen Chand. This decision was rescinded the next year by the Secretary of State for India.<sup>4</sup>

The estimation in which Jagat Seth Gobind Chand was held may be judged from the following fact. At the marriage of the Nawab Feredun Jah robes of honour were distributed to all the important people of Murshidabad the value of which varied with the rank of the recipient. No one received a robe of honour of higher value than that received by Jagat Seth Gobind.<sup>5</sup>

Jagat Seth Gobind Chand died in 1864. Like many other members of the

3. Despatch of the Court of Directors No. 42 of 1844 dated 6th November, 1844.

4. Despatch from the Secretary of State for India, No. 55, dated 8th November, 1859.

5. List in Record Office at Murshidabad.

family he was childless but in his lifetime he had adopted a son, Seth Gopal Chand. The latter and Seth Kissen Chand made a joint application to Government in which they asked that Rs. 700 of his father's pension might be conferred on Seth Gopal Chand leaving Rs. 500 for Seth Kissen Chand. The result was that Government sanctioned a pension of Rs. 800 per mensem to Seth Kissen Chand on the understanding that it was for the support of himself and the rest of the family including the widow of the late Jagat Seth Gobind Chand. Seth Gopal Chand appealed against this decision, first to the Viceroy and then to the Secretary of State for India and in the end was offered Rs. 300 per mensem from the pension of Seth Kissen Chand. As the head of the family he felt it inconsistent with his position to accept such an arrangement. He died shortly after.

Seth Kissen Chand died in 1880. Meanwhile Jagat Sethani Pran Kumari, the widow of Jagat Seth Gobind Chand, had adopted a son named Golab Chand. The ceremony of adoption was performed according to the customs prevailing among the Oswals and in the family of the Seths and in accordance with the Hindu sastras. Almost all the Oswals of the district were invited to be present on the occasion and after the ceremony Golab Chand was considered to be the true son of Jagat Seth Gobind Chand for Hindu law makes no distinction between an adopted son and one begotten. "It is difficult to impress Europeans with the importance of those sanctions which make the custom of adoption so peculiarly sacred. One may here be mentioned. In the Sanskrit the divine ancient language of India, the word for son is putra, and Manu, the highest authority for Hindu institutions, says that a son is called putra because he is the instrument and the only instrument, for delivering his father and forefathers from the dread hell named Put; and though this derivation has no philological value, it explains better than anything that passion to have male issue, which is the characteristic of the Hindus, and that unutterable woe which oppresses those who die without either. Among the objects for which a son is wanted by a Hindu is certainly the perpetuation of the family, but the prime function which a son is to fill is to offer cakes to the manes of ancestors and perform those numerous religious ceremonies which are essential to their salvation. This function cannot be performed by any other relative however near, and in the case of Jagat Seth Gobind Chand there was no other relative who could fill it until the adoption of Golab Chand. But this function is filled by an adopted son as well as by a son of the body; and neither by custom, nor by religion, nor by law is an adopted son in any way different from a son of the body."<sup>6</sup> The legal aspect of the case has been given as follows;— Her

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6. Extracted from a memorial made to the Secretary of State for India by Jagat Seth Golab Chand.



Majesty Queen Victoria, through Lord Canning in 1858, assured the native princes and all her Indian subjects that any succession which may be legitimate according to Hindu or Muhammadan Law shall be upheld and in accordance with that pronouncement the succession, the state and dignity of many adopted sons of native chiefs and zemindars have been recognised by Government. Lord Dalhousie, notwithstanding his policy of annexation did not apply the principle of lapse in many cases of adopted sons amongst the chiefs of Marwar. In the family of Jagat Seth the validity and efficacy of the adoption of Jagat Seth Harakh Chand was recognised by the Government.

Hindu law makes no distinction between an adopted son and a son born of the body. (Mayne's Hindu Law, 7th Edition, pp. 214-216, and the authorities quoted therein).

Jagat Sethani Pran Kumari was granted a pension of Rs. 300 per mensem after the death of Seth Kissen Chand but when her adopted son approached manhood and was being recognised as the head of the house of Jagat Seth and the social leader of the Oswals, she again memorialised Government to increase her own pension or to grant a separate pension to her son. All her efforts were unavailing and so, too, were the efforts which Gobind Chand made on his own behalf after the death of Jagat Sethani Pran Kumari. This occurred in September 1891.

Jagat Seth Golab Chand was educated at the Nawab's Madrasa at Murshidabad, an institution founded under the patronage of the Governor General of India and the Nawab Nazim of Bengal for the education of the members of the Nizamat family and the admission of Jagat Seth Golab Chand to the school kept up the traditional close connection of the family of Jagat Seth with the Nawab of Bengal. Golab Chand was a very pious, simplehearted man and a staunch Jain. He had four sons and one daughter. Two of his sons, Jagat Seth Fateh Chand and Seth Udai Chand survived him. He died on the 8th April, 1912, at Calcutta.

Jagat Seth Golab Chand was honoured with a visit from the Viceroy, Lord Curzon, on the 1st March, 1902 which was thus described in the page of "the Englishman" of the 3rd March:—

"His Excellency the Viceroy and suite visited the dwelling-house of Jagat Seth at Mahimapur on his way back to Azimganj at about 2-30 P.M. to-day. On arrival at the gate the Commissioner of the Presidency Division alighted from his state carriage and introduced Jagat Seth and walked into the enclosure. His Excellency carefully inspected the ruins of the old Jain temple consisting of detached columns and arches made of granite being specimens of Jaina Buddhist sculpture, and was greatly interested. He then proceeded to the Hindu temple made of China bricks in 1801. The Viceroy next inspected the family

documents, consisting of firmans granted by the Emperors of Delhi to the ancestor of the present Jagat Seth and rare gold and silver coins from the 15th century downward, as also some jewels and a valuable idol. When leaving a nuzzur of ten gold mohurs was offered, which His Excellency touched and returned. A garland of gold lace was then presented and was kindly accepted. His Excellency in honouring Jagat Seth has honoured the whole Oswal community."

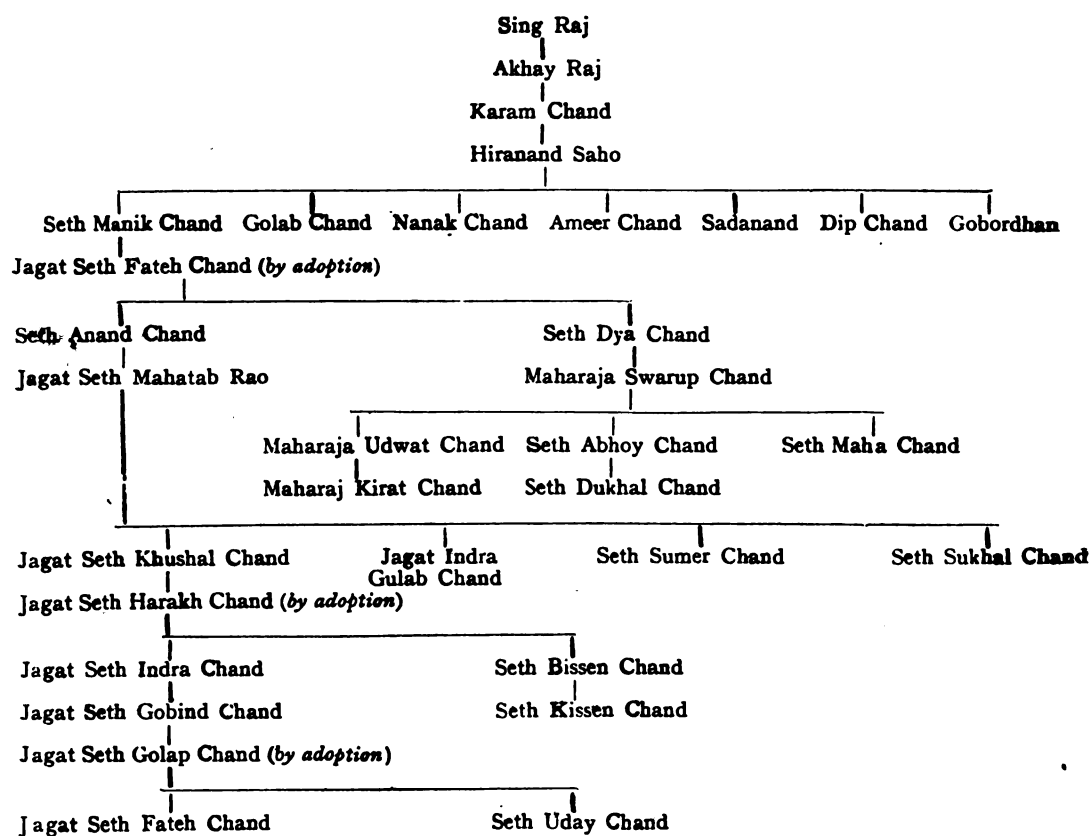
It was on this occasion that Jagat Seth Golab Chand presented the farman of the Emperor Farrukhsiyar, conferring the title of Seth on Fateh Chand, to the Victoria Memorial. Other distinguished visitors to the house of the Seths were Sir John Woodburn, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, Lord Kitchener, who was then Commander-in-Chief in India and the members of the Historical Society of Calcutta.

Jagat Seth Golab Chand was succeeded by his eldest son Seth Feth Chand who is generally recognised by his fellow-countrymen as the 8th Jagat Seth. He lives a short distance away from the ancient home of his ancestors for when he was a boy the great earthquake of 1896 hurled to the ground the part of the house that the scouring of the Bhagirathi had spared. His father then built the new house which he called "Jagat Seth's House." Blocks of brickwork which once formed part of the old house still strew the bank of the Bhagirathi. A few remnants of the old walls are still visible but the site is almost covered with jungle. A short distance down the river large blocks of masonry can again be seen—the ruins of the Jain temple built by Manik Chand when the family first came to Murshidabad. This temple was once adorned with finely covered columns and arches of touchstone—fit stone for a banker's temple. These were rescued from the river's maw and are to form the chief adornment of a new Jain temple of which Jagat Seth Fateh Chand laid the foundation stone in 1913. Early in 1914 he proceeded to Ajmir to celebrate the marriage of his brother, Seth Udai Chand with the daughter of Seth Bridhimul Lorah, son of Dewan Bahadur Seth Umedmul Lorah of Ajmir. He was welcomed by the Oswals from all parts of Rajputana as their recognised head—indeed the family of Jagat Seth claim to be the recognised head of the Jain community in India. In his community the priests of Jagat Seth are honoured above other priests. He himself, is the principal guest at their gatherings to whom they pay nazar and for whom they reserve the seal of honour or "masnad."

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7. The blocks of touchstone were brought from Gour, the ancient capital of Bengal. No other temple made of touchstone is found in any part of India (Note by head of family.)

## APPENDIX I.

*Genealogical Tree of the Jagat Seths.*

## APPENDIX II.

*Translation of the Hindi Note-book preserved in the family with additions to the present day.*

Hirananda Saha was an inhabitant of Nagore. He left Nagore and came to Patna on the third day of the new moon of the month of Baisak in the Samvat year 1709. He died at Patna in the Samvat year 1768 on the fourth day of the full moon of the month of Mag. He had seven sons Seth Manik Chand, Nanak Chand, Ameer Chand, Sadanand, Goberdhandas, and Dip Chand. He had also a daughter whom he gave in marriage to a son of Rai Udaichand.

Seth Manik Chand had two wives. He received the title of "Seth" from the Emperor Muhammad Farrakhsiyar on the 8th of Dilhaj in the third year of his reign. He died in the fourth year of the reign of this Emperor on the tenth day of the new moon of the month of Mag corresponding to the Samvat year 1771. He had no son so he adopted Fateh Chand a son of Rai Udai Chand in the Samvat year 1757. From this time the boy lived with Seth Manik Chand at Dacca. When Murshid Kuli Khan made Murshidabad the capital Manik Chand accompanied him and settled at Mahimapur in Murshidabad. When he died his remains were placed in the Manibag.

Jagat Seth Fateh Chand married a daughter of Rai Udaichand of Agra. After succeeding Seth Manik Chand he obtained the title of "Seth" from the Emperor Farrakhsiyar in the fifth year of his reign at Delhi. In the fourth year of the reign of Muhammad Shah he was granted the title of "Jagat Seth." The reason why he received the title of Jagat Seth was this:—There was a great famine at Delhi and when the Emperor ordered him to bring relief and to take a duna (pan given to those present at the durbar as a mark of honour) he respectfully prayed that it might be publicly announced that hundis should be circulated freely. The Emperor agreed to his proposal and proclaimed that those who wanted money should write hundis and obtain money. So the famine disappeared and money was plentiful in the city. The Emperor was highly pleased and conferred the title of Jagat Seth on Fateh Chand in return for his services. After that he returned to Murshidabad and died in the Samvat year 1801. His remains were placed in the Jagat Bisram. He had two sons Seth Anand Chand and Dya Chand. He had also two daughters.

Seth Anand Chand was born at Patna. He received the title of Seth from the Emperor Muhammad Shah in the fourth year of his reign. He died before his father. He had a son named Mahtab Rao.

Jagat Seth Mahtab Rao was confirmed in the title of Jagat Seth by the Emperor Ahmad Shah in the fourth year of his reign. He had four sons Khu-

shal Chand, Gulabchand, Sumerchand and Sukhalchand. He had also one daughter. He was killed by Mir Kasim in the Samvat year 1820 on the tenth day of the full moon in the month of Aswin.

Seth Khushal Chand was born at Dacca on the fifth day of the new moon of the month of Bhadra in the Samvat year 1810. He was confirmed in the title of Seth by the Emperor Alamgir 11 in the Hijri year 1170. He was confirmed in the title of Jagat Seth by the Emperor Alamgir 11 in the sixth year of his reign. He died in the Hijri year 1196. He had a son named Gokalchand who was born in the Samvat year 1815; but he died in the presence of his father in the Samvat year 1836 at the age of 20. Seth Golabchand received the title of Seth from the Emperor Shah Alam in the Hijri year 1173 in the first year of his reign. He obtained the title of Jagat Indra in the Hijri year 1196. He died on the eighth day of the new moon of the month of Baisak in the Samvat 1853. He had no sons.

Seth Sumer Chand received the title of Seth from the Emperor Alamgir 11 on the 2nd Rabi-ul-Awal in the sixth year of his reign. He died on the second day of the new moon of the month of Bhadra in the Samvat year 1838.

Seth Sukhal Chand received the title of Seth from the Emperor Alamgir 11 in the sixth year of his reign.

Jagat Seth Harakh Chand was born on the third day of the new moon of the month of Mag in the Samvat year 1828. He married a daughter of Hukum Chand Mahanat of Azimganj. He died on the eight day of the full moon of the month of Asar in the Samvat year 1870. He had two sons named Jagat Seth Indra Chand and Seth Bissen Chand. Harakh Chand was confirmed in the title of Jagat Seth by the British Government during the administration of Governor-General Warren Hastings through Mubarak-ud-daula the Nawab Nazim of Bengal, Behar and Orissa who presented him with a seal containing the words "Jagat Seth" in the year 1784.

Jagat Seth Indra Chand was born in the Samvat year 1852. He married a daughter of Rai Sing Singhee. He died on the fourteenth day of the new moon of the month of Mag in the Samvat year 1879. He had only one son named Jagat Seth Gobind Chand. The mother of Jagat Seth Gobind Chand died on the third day of the month of Agrahan in the Samvat year 1916 that is, the 12th December 1859.

Jagat Seth Gobind Chand was born on the tenth day of the full moon of the month of Aswin in the Samvat year 1867. He married a daughter of Harakh Chand Raka of Baluchar in the Samvat year 1882. He died on the 12th December 1864 at 4 A.M. He had no son. He adopted a boy named Gopal Chand. The British Government granted him a pension of Rs. 1,200

a month on the 1st July 1843 during the administration of Lord George Auckland.

Seth Bissen Chand was born on the eight day of the full moon of the month of Falgoon, on Wednesday, in the Samvat year 1855. He received the title of Seth from Delar Jung the Nawab Nazim of Bengal, Behar and Orrisa in the Hijri year 1221. He died at three in the morning on the eleventh day of the new moon of the Bhadra in Rangmehal Palace. He had only one son named Seth Kissen Chand.

Seth Kissen Chand was born on the third day of the month of Mag in the Samvat year 1873. He was granted the title of Seth by the British Government under Lord Willim Bentinck through Humayan Jah the Nawab Nazim of Bengal, Behar and Orissa on the third day of the full moon of the month of Mag in the Samvat year 1890. He received a pension of Rs. 800 after the death of Jagat Seth Gobind Chand. He died at Benares on the thirteenth day of the new moon of the month of Jaith in the Samvat year 1939. He had no son.

Maharaj Gopalchand was born on the fifth day of the new moon of the month of Aswin in the Samvat year 1896 and was adopted on the 23rd January 1845 A.D. He obtained the title of Maharaj from the Emperor Bahadur Shah with a gold umbrella on the eleventh day of the new moon of the month of Falgoon in the Samvat year 1909. He died on the fifteenth August in 1862 A.D. at 9 p.m. He had two sons the eldest died in his presence and the younger was named Gupichand. He was offered a pension of Rs. 300 which he thankfully declined.

Seth Dhokalchand received the title of Seth from the Calcutta Council on the 13th Agrahan 1228 Hijri. He had a son and a daughter whom he gave in marriage to the son of Harakhchand Sethia.

Gupichand was born on the 12th December 1878 A.D. on Friday. He died at the age of twelve in the presence of Jagat Seth Gobind Chand and Seth Kissen Chand.

Jagat Seth Golab Chand was born at Bikanir in Rajputana on the 29th November 1867. He was taken as an adopted son by the widow of Jagat Seth Gobind Chand on the third day of the new moon of the month of Baisakh in the Sambat year 1935. He married a daughter of Jaychand Baid in the Sambat year 1941. He had four sons of whom the youngest died in his presence. The eldest, Jagat Seth Fateh Chand, succeeded him. Lord Curzon paid a visit to the old and new houses of Jagat Seth on the 1st March, 1901, Sir John Woodburn on the 4th August, 1901 and Lord Kitchener on the 7th March, 1908. He was a staunch Jain. He died on the 7th April, 1912 at Calcutta.

Jagatsathani Pran Kumari, the wife of Jagat Seth Gobin Chand, died on the fourth day after the full moon of the month of Aswin at 3 in the morning in the Samvat year 1947. She was granted a pension of Rs. 300 by the British British Government after the death of Seth Kissen Chand.

## APPENDIX 3.

A Copy of H. H. the Nawab Humayan Jah's Durbar List.  
(from Nizamat Records)

Left-hand side.

1. Nawab Solat Jang,  
(grandson of Nawab Mujafar Jang—Naib-i-Nasim).
2. Seth Bissen Chand,  
(representative of Jagat Seth).
3. Diwan Raja Udmant Sing,  
(Diwan-i-Nizamat, Ancestor of the Maharaja of Nashipur).
4. Naib Diwan-i-Nizamat.
5. Muft Muhammad Maizali Khan Saheb.
6. Maharaja Kirat Singha,  
(grandson of Maharaja Swarup Chand).
7. Seth Dhokalchand.
8. Raja Harnath Kumar,  
(of Cassimbazar).
9. Rai Girdhari Lall, (Diwan-i-Deory).
10. Rai Hari Sing,  
(Diwan-i-Deory Nawab Begum).
11. Rai Girdhari Lall,  
(Vakil-i-Nizamat, Calcutta).
12. Bijoy Kristo Rai,  
(son of Raja Mahanand, son of Raja Gurudass,  
son of Raja Nand Kumar).
13. Mahasaychandra Narayan Bangadhikari.  
and others.

## APPENDIX 4.

A copy of H. H. the Nawab Feredun Jah's Durbar List.  
(from Nizamat Records).

Left-hand side.

1. The Hon'ble Mr. Tomson,  
(Agent of the Governor General at Murshidabad).
2. Maharaja of Ijanagar,  
(An independent chief).
3. Sir John Shore.
4. Jagat Seth Gobind Chand,  
(grandfather of present Jagat Seth).
5. Seth Kissen Chand,  
(representative of junior branch).



## APPENDIX 5.

EXTRACT OF THE FORT WILLIAM GENERAL CONSULTATIONS, DATED 29TH JANUARY 1772.

**Dr.** *Statement of the Debt due to Jugget Seet, showing how much of it has been [paid] to this day.* **Cr.**

To amount due to Jugget Seet, which was  
agreed to be paid him in the Space of 10 years,  
in annual Payments of 105,000 each as follows:

By the Nabab ... ..	1,050,000
By the honourable Company ...	1,050,000
	<u>2,100,000</u>

By Sundry Payments to the 19th of Poos,  
Bengal year 1178.  
From the Nabob ... .. 515,000-0  
From the honourable Company ... 546,375-12

1,061,375-12

By Balance due  
From the Nabob ... 535,000-0-  
From the honourable  
Company ... 503,624-4-

1,038,624-4  
2,100,000

N.B.—Of the above Balance  
there is due from the  
Nabob.

To the end of the pre-  
sent year 1178 ... 115,000-0  
From the Beginning of  
1179 to the end of  
1182. ... 420,000-0

535,000-0

From the honourable  
Company to the end  
of the present Bengal  
year 1178. ... 83,624-4

From the Beginning of  
the Bengal year 1179  
to the end of 1182 ... 420,000-0

1,013,624-4

Compared, as far as regards the Comp-  
any's Proportion, with the Books in  
the Accountant's Office.

*Charles Croftes, Accountant.*

Errors Excepted

*Moorshedabad, the 31st. December 1771.*

## APPENDIX 6.

*In the Name of the Holy and the Exalted (God).*

Mohammad Jahan Shah Bahadur Badshah Ghazi, son of Saheb Qiran II Abdul Fath Nasiruddin, son of Shah Alam, son of Alamgir, son of Shah Jahan, son of Jahangir, son of Akbar, son of Humayun, son of Babar, son of Omar Sheikh Shah, son of Abu Syud Shah, son of Sultan Mohammad Shah, son of Miron Shah, son of Amir Taimur Saheb Qiran. 1133 Hijiri.

Farman of Mohammad Nasiruddin Abul Fath, Badshah-i-Ghazi.

At this time near unto victory and closely allied to happiness, the world obeyed command of sunny lustre receives the honour of issue that, from the Court of Eternal Sovereignty, Seth Fatah Chand,—with the award of the title of Jagat Seth as hereditary distinction and the bestowal of magnificent robes of honour, an elephant and a pearl ear-ring,—and his son, Anand Chand,—with the title of Seth as hereditary distinction and the gift of robes of honour and a pearl ear-ring,—have hoarded the treasure of trust and dignity. It is proper that the civil and ministerial officers, and all the pen-men of the present and the future, living within the aforesaid Protected Territories should write Jagat Seth Fatah Chand as also designate his son Seth Anand Chand. They should deem this imperative from the side of His Glorious Majesty. Written on the 12th Rajab, in the 4th year of the Exalted Reign.

## APPENDIX 7.

Translation of a Persian letter from the Governor-General Warren Hastings to Mobarak-ud-Daula Bahadur Nawab Nazim of Bengal, Behar and Orissa. In the year 1784.

Nawab Saheb of Exalted rank and dignity admirer of the brethren may be safe and sound.

After expressing my earnest desire for a happy interview with you which cannot be described in writing, I bring to your kind notice that a robe of honour consisting of six pieces, an ornament that is worn in turban, a turban set with jewels, a necklace of pearls, a ear-ring with pearls and a palanquin with frills have been sent by me through Sir John Daly Sahib to the kind gentleman Seth Hurrack Chand Saheb.

I hope your nobleself will be pleased to confer on the said Sett the title Jagat Seth to give him seal and to allow him the privilege of being looked upon with esteem and respect as his family has been for a long time.

(Sd.) Warren Hastings.

## APPENDIX 8.

Government of Bengal, Political Department.

From—The Hon'ble Mr. J. H. Kerr, C.I.E., I.C.S.,

Offg. Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

To—The Commissioner of the Presidency Division.

Calcutta, the 17th January, 1916.

Sir,

I am directed to refer to the correspondence ending with your letter No. 429 J. P., dated the 27th November, 1915, regarding the correct method of addressing Fateh Chand of the Jagat Seth Family in the district of Murshidabad.

2. In reply, I am to say that the Governor-in-Council is pleased to recognise the long standing practice of his family and accordingly to direct that he should, in future, be addressed in official correspondence as "Jagat Seth Fateh Chand" without the prefix "Babu." I am to request that he may be informed accordingly, etc.

3. Etc.

I have, etc.,

(Sd.) A. CASSELLS,

For, Offg. Chief Secy. to the Govt. of Bengal.

MEMO. NO. 24J.P.

Commissioner Office, Presidency Division.

Dated, Calcutta, the 24th January, 1916.

Copy forwarded to the Magistrate of Murshidabad for information with reference to his letter No. 2960, dated 3rd November, 1915, for communication to Jagat Seth Fateh Chand.

By order

(Sd.) A. ISLAM,

Personal Assistant to Commissioner.

21-1.

MEMO NO. 24 J.G.

Dated the 24th January, 1916, from the Commissioner of the Presidency Division.

MEMO. NO. 5510 G.

Murshidabad, Collectorate,

Dated Berhampore, the 4th February, 1916.

Copy together with a copy of the enclosure forwarded to Jagat Seth Fateh Chand for information.

(Sd.) M. Bing.

For Collector

4-2-16.

## APPENDIX 9.

Thacker's Directory, 1865.

Mufussil, p. 204.

Murshidabad, in Bengal.

## Native Residents.

- I. H. H. Munsoorally Khan Feredoon Jah,  
Nawab Nazim of Bengal,  
At Murshidabad.
- II. Nawab Sufderally Khan Bahadur.
- III. Nawab Syed Zuffurally Khan Bahadur.
- IV. Nawab Azimally Khan Bahadur.
- V. Jagat Seth Gobind Chand,  
(Grandfather of the present "Jagat Seth").
- VI. Rajah Ketter Chand, (Nashipur).
- VII. Rajkissen Roy, (Cassimbazar).
- VIII. Ranee Shymasundary.

Supplied  
for the Public  
Service.

Home Dept.  
the Govt. of India.

Thacker's Directory  
for  
Bengal, N. W. Province.  
Almance.

p. p. 165.

Calcutta  
Home-Dept.  
Library.

# The History of the College of Fort William III.

*(Continued from Vol. XXII.)*

The question of the continued existence of the College of Fort William was again raised at this time in consequence of a letter from the Accountant-General (H. Wood, Esq.) in which he stated his opinion that Government would be wise to advance the amount of the debt contracted by the Salt Agent at Jessore under certain conditions, on the security of a policy on his life. Mr. Wood went on to charge the College of Fort William with being the cause of debts contracted by young civil servants during the first six months of their residence in Calcutta. Mr. Wood openly advocated the abolition of the College on this ground, and proposed that young civilians should be spared this temptation to extravagance by being sent immediately on arrival to some Mofussil station. In order not to lose the linguistic advantages of the College Mr. Wood recommended that the qualification in two languages exacted by the College of Fort William should be required from students at Hertford College as an indispensable acquirement to entitle him to quit the College.

He considered that "the same proficiency which is now made by Civilians in the Native Languages in this country might be more cheaply purchased in England, for the average expense of the College during the past 5 years including the rent of the Writers' Buildings has amounted to 158,508 which at the exchange of 2 shillings the rupee amounts to £15,850 per annum, for which on the average about 19 individuals have been returned fit for the active duties of the Service." Mr. Wood estimated that by teaching these languages at Hertford College instead of in India an annual saving of £10,150 would be effected. A Resolution by the Governor-General in Council deplored the pecuniary embarrassments of Civil Servants and expressed His Excellency's determination to do all in his power to put a stop to the practice of borrowing unhappily so prevalent. His Lordship was entirely disposed to adopt the suggestions of the Accountant-General for the relief of these gentlemen who were involved in debt, by authorising advances to the extent which may be covered by Life Insurance subject to the payment of interest at 4 per cent. and to an annual repayment of one-tenth of the principal sum in addition to the premium on the policy, these payments to be made by

deductions from salary. In cases where these deductions would not leave an adequate annual income His Lordship in Council was prepared to make some special arrangement. In connection with this resolution all officers of the Civil Service who might wish to avail themselves of it were expected to intimate their wishes to Government within two months submitting at the same time a schedule of their debts.

The Accountant-General's letter was also sent to the College Council for such remarks as the President and Members might wish to offer. Long minutes were recorded by the College Council upon the conclusion arrived at by Mr. Wood and the premises upon which it was based.

Mr. Harington the President agreed that the temptations to expense were greater in Calcutta than they could be in a Mofussil station, but he did not think that exemption from debt would be secured to young civil servants by sending them to Mofussil station immediately on arrival in as much as the principal part of the expense incurred was inevitable unless a civil servant brought with him a credit from his friends in order to meet the cost of his first equipment. He consequently could not see any sufficient reason for abolishing the College of Fort William in the admitted existence of this tendency to run into debt, which was by no means certainly attributable to the College itself. Mr. Harington also doubted whether the linguistic advantages of the College of Fort William could be equally well obtained in England and at a less expense as alleged by Mr. Wood. Arabic and Sanskrit might perhaps with advantage be learnt at Hertford, but not the vernaculars, and it was highly expedient and merited recommendation to the Honourable Court of Directors that the students at Hertford should be restricted to Arabic and Sanskrit as far as respects their studies in the languages of Asia. (December 29th, 1824.)

Mr. W. B. Bayley's minute agreed in the existence of general indebtedness of civil servants, but attributed this to the insufficient allowances of the civil servants on first arrival. While the scale of allowances was the same as that fixed by Lord Cornwallis 35 years before, the conditions of life and the state of society had so far altered as to render the original allowances far from sufficient. In the days of Lord Cornwallis it was the custom for young civil servants to be received as guests by some resident family in Calcutta, while on removal to the Mufussil he was almost as a matter of course accommodated in the house of the gentleman to whom he was attached as an assistant. "With very rare exceptions," he says, "the young men are now compelled both on their first arrival in Calcutta and on their proceeding to the interior as assistants to maintain an establishment of their own." Such an

establishment was necessarily expensive and as no part of the salary allowed was payable until two months and a half after their arrival, young men were compelled to contract debt unless some separate provision had been made by their parent or friends to meet the expenses of their first establishment. To this first inevitable debt Mr. Bayley traced many instances of hopeless embarrassment and some even of ultimate ruin and disgrace. Removal to the Mufussil would in no way meet this initial difficulty and life in the College tended rather to modify than to aggravate the evil, by virtue of its disciplinary restraint. Mr. Bayley, therefore, could find in Mr. Wood's remarks no ground for abolishing the College of Fort William. He also traversed Mr. Wood's suggestion as to the expediency of teaching the native languages in the College at Haileybury.

Mr. Holt Mackenzie's minute was long and rather discursive. He had waited for the receipt of reports regarding the debts of civil servants and these led him to agree that the excessive debt were mainly, if not entirely, attributable to residence in Calcutta in the early days of service and he could not conceal from himself the large share of blame attributable to the College of Fort William. However, Mr. Holt Mackenzie considered, that by considerable changes in the system according to which the (Civil) service was constituted all the evils might be avoided and all the advantages secured. The first change of system advocated by Mr. Mackenzie was the detention of civil servants in England until the age of 21 and the institution of conditions of service which would virtually ensure a selection of men above the average in talent and acquisitions. He refers to Lord Wellesley's original minute on the foundation of the College in support of this contention, but remarks that Lord Wellesley laid undue stress upon the importance of civilians coming to India at an early age and also lost sight of the jealousy with which his proposal to give certain advantages to the possession of Collegiate Honours from the College of Fort William would be regarded in England. Mr. Mackenzie's proposal amounted to this. Keep men longer at Haileybury and a less time at Fort William but do not abolish that College. Mr. Mackenzie advocated the institution of a prize of 800 rupees to every student who might during the voyage to India master some moderately easy oriental work: or be found on his arrival to have reached a given standard of proficiency.

He further recommended the re-establishment of the public table without imposing any strict obligation of attendance, and to furnish the Writers' Buildings for students, so as to save their expense at the outset of their Indian career.

His last recommendation was the enactment of special legal measures

to restrict the lending of money to civil servants. Mr. Harington in a minute of April 1st on Mr. Mackenzie's minute opposed the restoration of the public table.

Mr. W. B. Bayley referring (in a further minute dated April 2nd) to Mr. Mackenzie's minute mentions that the list of debts showed 12 individuals of less than 16 years' service whose debts amounted on an average to 1,20,000 rupees. This state of things was the rule not the exception in the civil service. These 12 individuals had on a general average been attached to the College for upwards of 3 years while their contemporaries who were free from debt had left the College (*i.e.*, qualified for the Public Service) in less than half that time. This fact Mr. Bayley considered shewed plainly how idleness and extravagance go hand in hand and manifested the importance of strictly enforcing the rule requiring the removal into the interior of any young man who after a trial of two months was found not to be making due progress in his studies. If the strict enforcement of discipline should not be found to reduce the tendency to incur debt Mr. W. B. Bayley would advocate the abolition of the College "in the full persuasion that no advantages which can be derived from it will be sufficient to compensate for the hopeless embarrassment and state of dependence to which one half the service appear to be now subjected." Mr. Bayley was not in favour of restoring the public table.

The list referred to is to be found at page 117 of Proceedings Vol. X. The list comprises 32 civilians referred to by letters A to Z and AA to AH. Of these X who was 36 months in the College owns to a debt of 2,53,000 rupees (£25,300) so that the allegations made by Mr. Wood were fully justified even if his arguments as to the influence of the College were not exact. These minutes were referred to Government on the 14th. April, 1825, and the decision of Government is contained in a letter of the 21st April of which the general tenour is as follows:—While recognising the inducements to contract debt to which the junior civil servants were exposed while attached to the College, His Excellency did not think it indispensable to abolish the College, but in his anxiety to maintain it His Excellency had anxiously directed his attention to the expedients which might be devised for securing a continuance of its benefits while at the same time preventing "those mischiefs which so lamentably detract from its acknowledged usefulness." The causes of this contraction of debt were recognised to be:—1. The allurements of the capital. 2. Emulation in expense called forth by vanity. 3. The facilities offered for anticipating the fulfilment of the promising prospects of young civilians. 4. The circumstance of their receiving no pay till ten weeks after arrival in India.



As prodigality is the concomitant of idleness the remedy for this lay in the hands of the College Council who were in future to apply strictly the rules prescribed in the Sixth Chapter of Statutes providing for the removal of students after two months of unsatisfactory progress. To meet unavoidable sources of indebtedness His Lordship in Council sanctioned advances of about two or three thousand rupees to any newly arrived student really in need of pecuniary assistance, to be repaid, without interest, by moderate instalments. The provision of furniture for the rooms in Writers' Buildings was also sanctioned under the charge of the Secretary to the College, students being held responsible for the due care of the furniture. His Lordship in Council did not consider the restoration of the public table advisable on the ground of economy, considering that its salutary effects would be in no degree commensurate with the burthen it would entail on the funds of Government. The other recommendation, *viz.*, the restriction of the oriental studies at Haileybury College to Arabic and Sanskrit, the institution of the reward of 800 rupees for work done on the voyage, and the restraining of loans to civil servants, were to be submitted for the consideration of the Honourable the Court of Directors.

With reference to the appointment of Lieutenant Hugh Todd of the 21st. Native Infantry to officiate as an Examiner in the College, the Council suggested to Government that it would be advisable to fix a period within which an officer so appointed should qualify by obtaining two degrees of honour as required by the Statutes, and in the mean time that he should not be allowed to draw the full emoluments of the office. At the request of Government upon this reference, the College Council recommended a period of not more than three months from the date on which the officer might commence the discharge of his duties as officiating Examiner to be fixed for the production of the degrees of honour requisite to his confirmation in it, and that his salary during the period he might officiate be not more than one half of the fixed allowance. (9th May, 1825). This was approved by Government (12th May, 1825).

W. Thacker & Co. of St. Andrew's Library were asked by the College Council to sell on commission 100 copies of a new edition of the Prem Sagar with vocabulary at 20 rupees a copy. (24th May, 1825).

Mr. W. B. Bayley was appointed President and Mr. A. Stirling member of the College Council *vice* Mr. J. H. Harington who had succeeded to a seat in the Supreme Council. (28th April, 1825).

On the 4th May, 1825 the College Council addressed the Government upon the subject of a proposal by Captain Macan to publish a collected edition

of the "Shah Namah of Firdoosee." They lay stress upon the necessity for providing a really trustworthy edition and refer to the untimely discontinuance of the edition commenced by Dr. Lumsden on account of the heavy and uncertain expense which his proposals involved. Captain Macan's present proposal was, they said, entirely free from uncertainty as to time or expense and the cost of the whole edition would be so small in comparison with the edition projected by Dr. Lumsden that they strongly recommended its publication. They also pointed out the altered condition of affairs since the prohibition of the continuance of Dr. Lumsden's proposed edition and emphasised the impossibility of producing a work of this nature without public aid. The offer made by Captain Macan was to collect all the available manuscript copies at an estimated expense of seven thousand rupees and to engage that should he not be able to publish it himself he would give up the corrected copy to Government on condition of receiving from Government a subscription for one hundred copies at one hundred and fifty rupees a copy should the publication of the work be ultimately sanctioned by the Court of Directors and completed under his superintendence. The College Council concluded by strongly urging the Government and the Honourable Court to embrace this opportunity of securing the reputation to be gained by the publication under the exclusive patronage of this noble work. (Letter dated 4th May, 1825). Captain Macan asked for three years in which to complete his task. The work was to be comprised in 3 volumes large quarto of 550 pages each volume and to the last volume was to be added a life of the author and if leisure permitted, some observations on the poem. The edition was to consist of 500 copies of which the total estimated expense was 25,000 rupees of which 7,000 rupees were for the expenses of collection and 18,000 rupees for printing at the Mission Press. The Indian manuscripts were in Captain Macan's opinion useless. Of eighteen which he had examined not one was to be relied on even for the two couplets together. Two Persian manuscripts of the Shah Namah of old date were promised him from Delhi, he had borrowed another which had belonged to the late Prince Jahangire. A fourth Persian copy was expected from Benaras and two Captain Macan possessed in his own Library. The College Library possessed two copies written in Persia and a third written in Arabic. Three copies were obtainable by the aid of Government from the Library of the King of Oudh and one perhaps the oldest and best in India from the Library of Nawab Buber Jung at Murshidabad. These latter copies Captain Macan could procure by his own influence but thought it would be attended with some advantages were it known at the Native Courts that the Government had undertaken to publish this great National Poem.

Government sanctioned the collection of these manuscripts on the 12th

May, 1825, but felt constrained to refer the question of publication to the Honourable Court. They also objected to the price fixed by Captain Macan for the subscription copies. The College Council replied that it was to the Government subscription alone that Captain Macan must look to guard him against loss, and said that this patronage implied encouragement, not simple barter.

The correspondence is well worth reading. It will be found at pages 145 to 162 of Proceedings Vol. X.

On the 16th June 1825 the College Council submitted to Government representations based upon the reports of the Secretary and Professors of the College regarding the measures advisable to check the extravagant habits of the students and to maintain a more efficient system of discipline. These recommendations were as follows:—(1) A loan not exceeding 4,000 to be granted by Government to any student who might arrive in the country unprovided with funds or with a sufficient credit or who from causes which the College Council might consider sufficient stood in need of pecuniary assistance. This loan was to be granted free of interest and was to be repaid by deductions from their pay in such proportion as might leave them an income of 500 rupees a month and no more until the whole debt was discharged.

(2) That 10 or 12 sets of rooms of the Writers' Buildings should be plainly furnished at the public expense.

(3) That a certain scale of establishment and equipage (fixed with Government approval (20th October, 1825) by the College Council at:

One Buggy, one Palankeen, one Buggy horse, one Saddle horse, two Saeses, two grasscutters, one set of bearers, a cook, Khansamau, Khidmutgar, Masalchee, Tailor, Dhobee, Hurkara, Mehtar. The expense of all these should not exceed 150/- rupees a month, (Proceedings X, pp. 324-325) and should be laid down as sufficient for the reasonable comfort of students and any equipment beyond this scale should be strictly prohibited subject to the penalty of immediate removal from Calcutta.

(4) Prohibition of expensive entertainments, racing and hunting, and other pursuits obviously leading to considerable expense. The discipline proposed was of a domestic nature and the Government stood in a parental relation to the Junior civil servants.

Should these principles be approved by Government the College Council would submit a draft of such rules and instructions as appeared to them sufficient. The restrictions must be precise and definite in order to enable the Officers of the College and the College Council to enforce them with effect.

The College Council also proposed eight months as the limit of residence in the College except when a student had been delayed in his studies by ill

health. An exception was also to be made in the case of a distinguished student who might desire to stay longer at the College to obtain a more intimate acquaintance with the native languages.

Option was also recommended to be given to proceed at once to Mofussil Stations instead of becoming attached to the College.

The College Council were prepared to draft a new chapter of Statutes embodying these rules should they meet with approval.

To encourage intercourse between students and the College officers the Council recommended that the salaries of the Professors and the Secretary should be restored to their former standard, or failing this that an equivalent sum should be at once granted them as a Table Allowance. The Council concluded by pointing out that were it made evident that extravagance and pecuniary embarrassment were considered as a bar to promotion and discouraged in this way by Government, it would be far more effectual than all rules in checking extravagant habits among the students.

The College Council in anticipation of the sanction of Government employed Mr. Sevestre to furnish 12 sets of rooms at an estimate of 1348 rupees per set. As each set of rooms was allowed 12 chairs, a couch, a set of dining tables, three side tables, three teapots, a book case, and a couch cot with mattress, pillows and china gauze curtains trimmed at the bottom with silk, the students could not complain. Indeed in view of the habits of economy it was desired to encourage, the provision of 12 chairs and a large dining table does not seem very logical.

On the 23rd June Government agreed to the proposals of the College Council with the exceptions of the limitation of the period of attachment to the College and the option to be given of going at once to the Mofussil, neither of which was in the opinion of Government desirable.

Government, however, declined to restore the salaries of the Professors to the former standard, but agreed to restore the salary of the Secretary Captain Ruddell to its former standard of 1,000/- "in addition to the established commutation for military allowances when this responsible appointment is held by a Military Officer." Captain Ruddell also held the post of Superintendent of the Madrissah on 300 a month. Government further signified their intention of rigidly exercising all the means in their power to repress extravagance among the students. Accordingly the Eighth Chapter of Statutes was drafted and received the approval of Government on the 18th. August, 1825.

The question of throwing open the College Library again came before the College Council upon whom Government called to draw up regulations for that purpose with a view to its being carried into effect. The College Council in

their reply (Proc. Vol. X, page 277) expressed a doubt as to the extent to which the orders of the Honourable Court were intended to apply. Was it intended that responsible persons should be permitted to visit the Library and consult books there? If so, such provision already existed. If on the other hand, persons were to be allowed to borrow books from the Library, the Council feared great loss and inconvenience. The Library had already sustained great loss and by lending books to persons not in the service of the Company. In 1824 the number of books out on loan was 1284 of a value of 28,335 rupees. Of these only 875 volumes had been restored or paid for but the remaining 409 volumes must be considered as a dead loss. The present care of the Library prevented the recurrence of similar losses, under the restricted privileges, but the Council feared that under a general license to take out books the occurrence of similar losses would be inevitable.

It seemed to them doubtful whether any plan could be devised which would answer better than the existing plan. Left unshackled by formal rules the Secretary and Librarian would sufficiently meet all the wishes of the reading portion of the community and attempt to regulate what should be a matter of grace and favour and consequently of discretion would be attended with loss, trouble and disappointment. It appears from a letter written by the Secretary Captain Ruddell on the 24th August, 1825, that a Catalogue Raisonnee was at that time being prepared, but no trace of any such work now remains, either in English or any oriental language. Captain Ruddell was strongly opposed to any throwing open of the Library to the general public and with excellent reason as his letter shews (Proc. : Vol X, pages 281-283).

In accordance with the expressed wish of Government the Examiners (Lieutenants Gordon and Todd) were requested by the College Council to prepare an English translation of that part of the catalogue in Persian containing a description of the Arabic and Persian works belonging to the College which would be delivered to them for the purpose as it was finished by Maulvi Ikram Ali. The Council would recommend them to Government for a suitable reward for this service.

At pages 292-293 Proc. X, appears a list of books presented by the College of Fort William to the Asiatic Society under date 12th September 1825. On the 10th October, 1825 Mr. H. H. Wilson wrote to Government proposing to publish a series of translations of original Sanskrit plays and asking for the support of Government. The College Council upon this letter being referred to them for opinion, gave Mr. H. H. Wilson's proposal their strongest support and recommended Government to grant Mr. Wilson 3,000/- to enable him to print his translations, in return for which grant, he should be required to furnish fifty copies.

Captain Ruddell appointed to officiate as Examiner during the absence of Lieutenant Todd with his Regiment on active service (10th November, 1825).

Messrs. Frederick James Halliday and G. T. Lushington were the first junior civil servants to avail themselves of the loan of 4000 on the 9th November 1825. The loans were disbursed by the Secretary to the College Council.

Captain Ruddell on the 22nd. November applied for permission to join his Regiment the first European Regiment which was under orders to proceed towards Agra and to continue with it until it might appear expedient to allow him to return to the discharge of his duties in the College. Government, however, declined to give Captain Ruddell the permission he sought as his services could not be spared.

The quarters in the Writers' Buildings ten in number selected for the accommodation of students were ready on the 12th December 1825. Students who proposed "to chum together" were requested to inform the Secretary. The Oriental Institute at St. Petersburg applied through the Russian Ambassador to the Honourable Company for certain oriental works.

In June 1826 Government subscribed for 100 copies of a collection of proverbs called Bahudurshan by Nilratan Halder—in English, Latin, Bengali, Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic. The book was published at the Serampore Press in 1826.

On the 4th August 1826 Government sanctioned the subscription for 60 copies of a Persian version of the Qamus proposed to be printed by Maulvis Abdur Rahim and Qazim Ali of the College of Fort William at 200/- a copy. On the 10th. August, 1826 Government sanctioned a subscription for 100 copies of the Fatawa Alamgiri proposed to be published by the General Committee of Public Instruction at 50/- per copy.

On the 4th August 1826 Mr. Henry Shakespeare was appointed President of the College Council and Mr. H. G. Christian a member of the Council of the College of Fort William.

The Asiatic Lithographic Society of Park Street, Chowringhee, wrote on the 24th July 1826 proposing to print the Durrul Mukhtar and Fusul-i-Imahee and asked for the patronage of the College to the undertaking. The College Council recommended to Government a subscription for 100 copies and this was authorised on the 17th September, 1826. Issued in 1827. This Library possesses one litho copy of the Fusul Imadee but none of the litho copy of the Durrul Mukhtar. Of the latter work this library has only a copy printed at Hooghly in 1846.

On August 17th 1826 Mr. P. Breton, Superintendent, Native Medical Institution, presented to the College a copy in Hindustani of his Treatise on Mineral

Poisons—Receipt acknowledged August 23rd 1826. Also on the 8th November, 1826, Dr. Breton presented a "Poscological Table" translated into the oriental languages." Receipt acknowledged 14 November, 1826. Also on the 13th June, 1827, Medical tracts translated into Hindustani on Vegetable Poisons and the organs of generation. Also on November 20th, 1827, a treatise on Dislocations in Hindustani, May 15th, 1828, Anatomy of the Urinary Organs-in-Hindustani in the Persian and Nagree characters.

Pages 562-564 Proceedings Vol. X contain a list of books transferred from the Library of the College of Fort William for the use of the Government of Bombay (December, 1826).

Government purchased the remainder (122 copies) of Dr. Lumsden's Arabic Grammar (published at 32/-) at 10/- a copy (30th October 1826). In November 1826 the quarters occupied by the professors and examiners *viz.*, Nos. 3, 17, 18, 19 of the Writers' Buildings were ordered to be vacated with a view to their being furnished for the use of students a larger number being expected to arrive shortly to join the College. In consequence of this Captain Price and Lieutenant Ouseley applied for compensation either as an increase of salary or as an equivalent in the shape of house rent. The College Council recommended a grant of 200/- a month to each of the professors and examiners who reside in Calcutta, *viz.*, Captain Price and Lieutenant Ouseley, Gordon and Todd, from the 1st November, 1826. Government, however, declined to accede to this recommendation. On the 4th December, 1826, the College Council forwarded to Government a prospectus for a new translation into English from the original Persian of Mahomed Kasim Ferishta's History by Lieutenant Col. John Briggs, Resident at Sattara. (Proc.: X, 619-621). Government in reply authorised a subscription not exceeding six guineas a copy for ten copies of the work.

On the 1st February 1827 Captain Ruddell proceeded to Murshidabad to examine the students at the College recently established there, and obtained leave of absence till 1st April. Lieutenant H. Todd appointed to officiate as Secretary. On the 7th April copies of certain oriental books were supplied from the Library of the College for despatch to Fort St. George for the use of the College and other institutions. Upon the departure of Lieutenant Gordon for Europe Captain Ruddell offered himself to perform the duties of the vacant office of Examiner, and this arrangement was sanctioned 19th April 1827.

Proceedings XI, pages 89-92. List of Books sent from the College for the use of the civil examination Committee, Bombay.

Munshi Yusuf Ali, aged 66, having served since the first foundation of the College, was granted a pension of 20 a month on the 10th May 1827 on account of total blindness.

Captain Price was awarded Rs. 1,000 honorarium for assisting Munshi Tarini Charan Mittra in editing the Hindee and Hindustani selections (31st May, 1827). Captain Macan on the 8th May, 1827, reported the completion of his collation of the manuscripts of the Shah Namah. The seven thousand rupees authorised to be paid to Captain Macan on the completion of this task was paid on the 24th May, 1827.

Glass sashes were sanctioned for 79 windows of the Writers' Buildings at a cost of 38-8 each, upon the representation of the College Council to Government of the heat and discomfort caused by the want of them. At the same time a representation was made to Government that the accommodation in the Writers' Buildings was insufficient for the wants of the College. The College Council applied to Government for permission to rent suitable quarters, at the rate of 150 per mensem for each individual. This was sanctioned on the 14th June 1827. Messrs. Alexander & Co., Agents for the Loudoun Buildings expressed their willingness to let them to Government at 250 sicca rupees a month for each house without furniture and if Government desired would put them in a fit state to be immediately occupied. The letter continues "The Buildings now vacant are Nos. 2, 3 and 4, Hastings Street, 8 and 9 facing the Government House, Nos. 12 and 13 of the South Range facing the Treasury and we expect that No. 5, Hastings Street and 16 South Range will be also soon vacated which can be reserved if desired by the College Council." Upon the report of the Secretary Nos. 2, 3, 4, 8, 12 and 13 were reserved for the College apartments and the furniture originally put into them was valued at 650 per set of rooms. The rooms were engaged from the 20th June, 1827, at a furnished rental of 275 a month. Messrs. Burn & Co. were engaged to fit up the quarters. About this time Writers' Buildings were struck by lightning and injured and in consequence lightning conductors were fitted to the building by Mr. Barwell the Landlord.

On the 9th July 1827 the College Council addressed Government upon a proposal made by the Asiatic Lithographic Society to print the well-known Arabic Medical Work named "the Moojiz" with a commentary on the same called the Sudeedee (Proc: XI, pages 207-210) and recommended Government to subscribe for 100 copies at 20 rupees a copy. Sanctioned 16th August 1827. This sanction was apparently withdrawn on the 12th September 1827 (See Proc: XI, page 386) and the work was ordered to be printed under the auspices of the General Committee for Public Instruction.



On the 12th July 1827 Maulvi Abdur Rahim applied to the College Council for assistance in publishing an Arabic Grammar in Persian the material for which he had been engaged in collecting since 1809 and it formed the ground work for Dr. Lumsden's Arabic Grammar of which only one volume was published. The publication of this work was strongly recommended by the College Council who advised Government to subscribe for a hundred copies at 22 a copy. (Sanctioned 16th August 1827).

Government also authorised a subscription for 200 copies of the Revd. Mr. Yate's Introduction to Hindustani at seven rupees per copy. (19th July 1827).

The accounts of the College in the year 1826 to 1827 shewed a saving of 26,500/-. On the 25th July Captain Onseley, Professor of Arabic and Persian, applied for assistance in the discharge of his duties in consequence of the increase in the number of students. The College Council addressed Government on the subject recommending the appointment of an Assistant Professor. The number of students in the Persian class was 44, a number far beyond the power of any one to instruct properly. These were taken in divided classes between the hours of 9 a.m. and 4 p.m. without intermission. Government, however, refused to accede to Captain Onseley's request for the appointment of an assistant professor. (Letter 2nd August, 1827).

At this time a difference arose between the College Council and their Secretary with reference to the procedure for granting loans to students. The President considered the procedure far too lax, and an encouragement to junior civil servants to incur a debt. He, therefore, instructed the Secretary to send in a certificate with each application for the loan, to the effect that he had personally satisfied himself that the loan was necessary and that the student was aware of the obligations its acceptance imposed upon him. This the Secretary objected to on the ground of want of time and the President (Mr. Shakespeare) referred the matter to Government for decision with the minutes of his colleagues. Mr. Molony dissented from the President's opinion that the loan should be made in dribblets the expenditure of which was to be checked by the Secretary. To this Captain Ruddell had quite reasonably objected as tending to destroy the confidence which had always existed between him and the students and exciting in their minds jealousy and distrust of him. He proposed, however, that the student asking for the loan should append a statement of his real requirements and of the way in which he proposed to spend the advance if granted. He deprecated any interference of a vexatious nature.

Mr. Macnaghten considered that some regulation was necessary to counteract the thoughtless tendencies of youth and guard the students against taking

a loan which they did not really require, to their future embarrassment. Some preliminary enquiry should be made and some admonition expressed. Every student, he remarked, came out provided with a letter of credit of from £100 to £500, and yet, in only two cases since the institution of the loan, had it not been availed of. Every student should be required to state explicitly what was the amount of his credit.

Mr. Macnaghten supported the President and could not attach any weight to the objections urged by the Secretary.

At this distance of time, reading Captain Ruddell's letter one cannot but feel that his objections were entirely valid and that both Mr. Shakespeare and Mr. Macnaghten were swayed by prejudice in their minutes. (Captain Ruddell's letter occurs at pages 246-253 Proc.: Vol. XI). In his opinion hunting was responsible for the neglect of study and want of discipline.

Captain Ruddell certainly made out a good case, and one's sympathies are entirely with him when he concludes by asking for an increased salary to be in some degree adequate to the duties of the Secretary, in addition to an Assistant Secretary and Librarian.

Government, however, decided against Captain Ruddell, and refused to appoint an assistant Secretary or to increase his salary. They, however, suggested that one of the Examiners might retrieve him of the charge of the Library and of the students' furniture. Lieutenant Todd was asked to take these charges and refused. The College Council returned to the charge over the question of the refusal of Government to appoint an assistant to the Professor of Persian and Arabic and also supported Lieutenant Todd in his refusal to take charge of the College Library and to assist the Persian Professor on grounds they approved. Captain Onseley had pressed upon the Council the absolute impossibility of his performing his duties singlehanded, the more so as in consequence of the newly instituted system of examination in England; the next batch of candidates who had not been at Hertford might be expected to be wholly ignorant of the Persian character. Mr. Shakespeare objected to this letter going to Government and wrote a minute against it to accompany the letter. He was evidently a man who thought that it was the policy of Government to get as much as they could for their money irrespective of all considerations of justice or expediency.

Mr. Macnaghten wrote a strong minute of dissent from the President's opinion in support of the position that an assistant Persian Professor was essentially necessary. Coming from a scholar of such high attainments this expression of opinion should have had great weight with Government. Mr. Molony concurred with Mr. Macnaghten.

The Government, however, took the view of the President (probably on the ground of economy) and directed Lieutenant Todd to assist Lieut. Ouseley by giving two lectures in the week to a portion of the students. Government also declared that it was desirable a second Examiner (in the place of Lieutenant Gordon) should be appointed as soon as possible and requested the College Council to furnish a "list of the Military Officers formerly attached to the College who are qualified according to the statutes to fill the appointment."

On the 18th October, 1827 Mr. Molony was permitted to resign his office as member of the College Council and Mr. Stirling resumed the position thus rendered vacant.

On the 12th November, Lieutenant J. A. Ayton offered his services to the College for the purpose of ascertaining the contents of a larger collection of manuscripts purchased for the College Library by Mr. Hodgson of the Nepal Residency. There were 127 volumes described by the Secretary as "ponderous." (Pages 346-350 Proc: XI). Lieutenant Ayton's offer was referred to Government. Neither Captain Price nor Dr. Carey who were referred to for their opinion, seemed to think Mr. Ayton should be given access to the books in order to enable to form some judgment of the task and of his competency to perform it. It was finally decided that Mr. Ayton was not competent to the task and his offer was declined.

On the 22nd November, 1827, Lieutenant I. O. Becket was appointed as Examiner in the College but resigned after a few months. On the 17th January, 1828, the Reverend T. Proctor was appointed to officiate as an Examiner in the College on half allowances. It does not appear from the records that Mr. Proctor possessed the statutory qualifications for the office.

The Honourable Court in August, 1827, had written declining to sanction the proposed subscription for 150 copies of Macan's Shah Namah. On the 19th December Captain Macan wrote to Government and informed them that His Majesty the King of Oude intended to subscribe for 150 copies of the Shah Namah. In acknowledging this letter His Lordship in Council gave permission to Captain Macan to receive the proffered subscription and said that they were aware of no objection to this act of munificence being recorded in the preface to the work. (Proc: XI, page 451).

On the 4th February, 1828 a further contribution of oriental works was made to the University of Copenhagen through Dr. Wallich. Proc: XI, page 469.

On the 6th February, 1828, a completed catalogue of the Arabic, Persian and Hindustani Books in the College Library in four folio volumes was submitted for the inspection of Government by the Secretary to the College Council with a request for a Treasury order for eleven hundred rupees, of

which 800/- was to be paid to Maulvi Ikram Ali, and 300/- to Munshi Mahmood Saka for their labours in connection with the preparation of the catalogue. The catalogue was returned on the 14th February, with the treasury order. The system of advances to students was discontinued by the order of Government on the 5th June, 1828, (Proc: XI. 569). Finally discontinued 15th August, 1828. In a public letter dated 19th December, 1827, the Honourable Court of Directors again raised the question of the early if not immediate abolition of the College on the grounds of the extravagant habits leading to indebtedness which the students had been shewn to contract there. These disadvantages in the opinion of the Honourable Court far outweighed any advantages shewn to be derivable from the continuance of the College. Upon the receipt of this letter the College Council called for an expression of opinion from the various officers. These were generally strongly opposed to the abolition of the College although the Secretary Captain Ruddell wrote a rather glaring indictment of the whole system of discipline.

In submitting their opinions for the information of Government the College Council stated that measures might be devised to improve the existing system. The Governor-General before deciding upon the general question called upon the College Council for a statement of the specific measures they would recommend. The College Council replied that in their opinion the existing system of the College neither required material alteration nor was it susceptible of any great and extensive improvements. The College was not justly chargeable with the evils imported to it by the Honourable Court of Directors, although in some minor details its disciplinary system might admit of modification and amendment. Since the date of their former report great improvement had taken place and the Council were now able to affirm that the College was in as high a state of efficiency as it could ever reasonably be expected to attain. They advocated, however, the introduction of some penalty intermediate between a reprimand and expulsion. With a view to the better control of the students they advocated also the allotment of permanent quarters in the Writers' Buildings for some of the Professors and Examiners. They also wished to propose that a volume of Persian selections should be prepared but were unable to do so in consequence of the orders prohibiting any proposals involving increased expenditure. They also recommended the substitution of quarterly for the two-monthly examinations, also that the period of stay in the College should be extended to twelve months.

In August, 1828, the Reverend Mr. Proctor, acting examiner, obtained a Degree of honour in the Persian Language. On the 4th September Mr. Proctor applied to be permanently appointed in spite of the fact that he had not obtained a Degree of Honour in a second language. He hoped that his knowledge

of Arabic and Hindee might be accepted as equivalent to the Degree of Honour in a second language (Bengali) which he hoped to obtain before long. While fully accepting the College Council's assurance upon the question of Mr. Proctor's ability and industry, His Lordship in Council declined to deviate from the rule under which the award of a second degree of honour was made a condition precedent to any person's obtaining the permanent appointment of Examiner, (12th September, 1828).

In February 1829 the Secretary to the College Council in applying to Government for a further grant of Rs. 3,000 to defray the cost of manuscripts (Nepalese and Thibetan) purchased by Mr. Hodgson for the College Library, recommended that for the present no further purchases should be authorised of these Manuscripts as there was already a large number in the College Library lying undeciphered. Government approved of this procedure (6th February 1829). In 1828 the system of upcountry examinations was instituted, the oral portion being taken by the local committee and their report together with the written exercises returned to the College Examiners.

On the 2nd June 1829 Government decided that with a view to more efficient control of the students of the College, all the writers whether stationed in or out of Calcutta should be placed, until duly qualified, under the superintendence of a single officer subject to the direct authority of the Governor-General in his capacity of Visitor. The Secretary was accordingly vested with the immediate control of the students whether stationed in Calcutta or in the mufussil. The Secretary was empowered to admonish the offenders and was ordered to report all offences of an aggravated nature to the Visitor for further action. Upon all other points not connected with discipline the Secretary was to report as heretofore to the College Council and obey their orders.

The Governor-General in Council had also determined to recommend to the Honourable Court that all writers who might prove incorrigible should be suspended and sent to England, with the option of being transferred to the Military Branch of the service.

On the 21st July 1829 the "Hodgson" collection of books and manuscripts in the languages of Central Asia were with the sanction of the Governor-General in Council to be transferred to the Asiatic Society. On the 31st the Secretary of the Asiatic Society, Mr. H.H. Wilson, informs the College Secretary that the manuscripts can be received into the Society's Library at any time which may be convenient. On the 5th August 1829 the Civil Finance Committee wrote through their Secretary Mr. J. H. Bannerman calling for a statement of the several officers attached to the College of Fort William "explanatory of the duties required from each, and to furnish at the same time any suggestions, facts or documents calculated to assist their judgment in considering whether

and in what degree the expenses of the Institution are susceptible of reduction without countervailing disadvantage." No suggestions could be offered.

On the 19th August 1829 Lieutenant G. T. Marshall, Interpreter, Regiment Native Infantry, was reported fully qualified for the appointment of Military Interpreter.

On the 25th July 1829 Mr. H. H. Wilson wrote asking the College Council to favour him with a copy of each work published under their patronage to be presented to the Royal Asiatic Society in England. (The list of these books occurs at pages 536-537, Proc. XII). The Reverend Mr. Proctor obtained a Degree of Honour in Bengalee on the 29th September 1829 and was confirmed in the office of examiner on the 15th October of the same year.

On the 22nd September 1829 ten copies of Colonel Briggs' New English version of Ferishta's History were received into the College Library, with a copy of his Shah Namah and enquired whether the College intended to subscribe for a few copies of the work. "If, however," he proceeds, it should be necessary to obtain the sanction of Government for this purpose, I request no application may be made as Government has already declined patronising the work and I have no wish to submit to the mortification of further refusal." The College Council in reply regretted their inability to purchase more than two copies of the work and agreed to take two additional copies in exchange for certain books selected by Captain Macan. Among these was the Diwan-i-Shams-i-Tabriz which the College Council could not spare as their Library possessed only one complete copy. (There is no copy of work in the library now 1902).

On the 28th January, 1830 the College Council sanctioned the purchase of ten copies of Mr. Lewis Da Costa's translation into Hindustani of Tytler's Elements of General History, in sheets at 25 rupees set. This was subsequently completed by the translation of Dr. Nare's Elements of General History (Proc: XIII, page 89).

At pages 696-697 Proceedings Vol. XII occur two letters of more than ordinary interest each addressed to the Secretary of the College. The first is without date, and is as follows:—

Sir,—Having a Brother at Kurnaul, I am anxious to proceed to that station with another brother and sister who have accompanied me from England, I will therefore feel particularly obliged if you can obtain permission for my so doing, as I shall thereby be saved the necessary expenses attending my stay in Calcutta and as I have already studied the languages with my Brother he may be of assistance in my further prosecution of them.

I have the honour to be, etc.,

(Signed) JOHN L. LAWRENCE.

The second letter which bears date Calcutta, February 11th, 1830.

Sir,

Being very desirous that my Brother Mr. John Lawrence who has lately arrived from England as a writer, should accompany me up to Kurnaul, I will feel obliged by your obtaining permission for his so doing. My only motive in making this request, is my belief that I will be of advantage to my brother both in pecuniary way and with respect to his studies, as I purpose reading with him and from my experience may be of assistance to him.

I have the honour to be, etc.

(Signed). HENRY M. LAWRENCE,  
Lieutenant Artillery.

John Lawrence was admitted to the College of Fort William on the 10th February, 1830. He was born 4th March, 1811, at England. Appointed 1827. Arrived 10th February, 1830. Studied Private School (No. 737, Admissions of students Vol 3.)

The brother referred to in John Lawrence's letter above quoted, was George Lawrence. I cannot say who the sister was.

A reply was received from Government dated 2nd March 1830, permitting Mr. John L. Lawrence to proceed to Kurnaul to study the oriental languages under the superintendence of his Brother at that station, Proceedings Vol. XIII.

In 1830 the Governor-General in Council acting upon the suggestions of the Civil Finance Committee determined to make a radical change in the system of the College of Fort William. It was announced to the College Council in a letter dated the 23rd February 1830 that Government had decided to discontinue the Professorships together with the situations of the munshis and pandits attached to these officers respectively, and to confine the establishment of the College for the future to a Secretary and two Examiners with the requisite number of pandits and munshis under the Secretary for the instruction of the students. It was further proposed to the College Council that in view of this contemplated reduction it would be right to offer to the senior officers of the Institution the option of accepting one of the offices of Examiner, and in case of their acceptance dispensing with the junior officers. After some representations on the part of the various officers of the College, as to the hardship they would severally suffer by the new arrangement, it was finally decided by a resolution dated May 4th 1830, General Department, that from the 1st June 1830 the three Professorships of the College of Fort William shall be abolished and lectures to the students shall be discontinued. That from the same date Dr. Carey receives a pension of 500/- rupees per mensem payable at the General Treasury. That a third examiner be appointed to the College on a salary of

500 rupees per mensem, and that the three examiners be Captain Price, Lieutenant Onseley and Lieutenant Todd. Captain Price applied to be allowed to retain the allowances he held as Professor, but the College Council declined to forward his application in view of the positive orders of Government. The following Munshis and Pundits were discharged from June 1st with the pensions against their names.

<i>Persian Department.</i> —Kurrum Husyne	...	Rs.	100	0	0	per mensem.
Ubdoor Ruheem	...	„	38	5	0	„ „
Nuzur Ooollah	...	„	50	0	0	„ „
Budur Alee	...	„	40	0	0	„ „
<i>Hindee Department.</i> —Tarini Charan	...	„	100	0	0	„ „
Meer Bukhsh Alee	...	„	50	0	0	„ „
Murtuza Khan	...	„	40	0	0	„ „
<i>Bengalee Department.</i> —Ram Komar	...	„	100	0	0	„ „
Guddadhur	...	„	50	0	0	„ „

The Reverend Mr. Proctor's services were dispensed with from June 1st. Captain Ruddell remained in the office of Secretary. In order in some degree to compensate for the discontinuance of instruction in the College, the Council directed that from the 1st June students at the Presidency should be required to attend the examinations in the language they might be studying once a fortnight at the College Hall when such exercises both written and oral should be given as might be sufficient to test their progress in the languages. The results of these fortnightly examinations were to be reported to the College Council. They also considered it desirable to have a grammar of each language taught in the College with exercises prepared on an easy and simple plan. At this time Dr. Carey proposed to institute lectures at the Serampore College to take the place of the discontinued course of lectures at Fort William College, and applied to Government to sanction junior civil servants availing themselves of these classes, permission being accorded to them to enter their names each term, renewal of the permission being made dependent upon their due attention to their studies at Serampore. The Government, however, declined to accede to Dr. Carey's proposal. A grammar of Bengalee with exercises was to be prepared by Lieutenant Todd and the Reverend T. Proctor, Government subscribing for 200 copies at 8 a copy. Captain Onseley proposed to publish a similar volume of grammar and exercises in Persian and asked Government to subscribe for 300 copies at 14. Government, however, replied that they would prefer the plan of granting a distinct gratuity and enquired what sum the College Council would consider a fit gratuity in this case. The Council referred the question to Captain Onseley (Proceedings XIII, 465).

On the 1st March 1831 it was notified that 12 months had been fixed by



the Honorable Court of Directors as the period within which junior civil servants must qualify in native languages. Mr. H. Shakespeare on this date resigned the College Council and the Secretary was directed till further orders to report direct to the Government or Visitor in all cases requiring reference. This appears to mark the discontinuance of the College Council (See Proc: XIII, 512).

On the 29th March a letter was addressed by Government to the College Council informing them that in pursuance of orders from the Honourable the Court of Directors the College of Fort William would be abolished on the 1st June, 1831; however, on the 24th May a further letter was received informing the College Council that this intention had been relinquished and that the Institution would continue in operation until further orders. The Government also stated that in view of the short time allowed for qualification in two languages, subject on failure to the penalty of removal from the Company's service, the standard fixed was too high and suggested that it should be lowered.

Pages 642 to 648 Proceedings Vol. XIII are occupied by a list of surplus books in the College Library the sale of which was recommended by the Secretary Captain Ruddell. By Government letter dated 20th September, 1831, the disposal of these books by sale by Messrs. Tulloh & Co. was sanctioned. Proceedings XIII, 664-671. On the 26th September, 1831, a further supply of Bhotan books received from Mr. Hodgson of Nepaul was transferred to the Asiatic Society (XIII. Proc: 663). In consequence of the unsatisfactory way in which the mufussil examinations were conducted and the frequent occurrence of fraud in connection with them, a form of certificate was introduced to be signed by the supervising officer. XIII. 684.

From April till November, 1831, Lieutenant Todd was absent on sick leave to Java and the Strait of Malacca, Mr. Proctor acting for him during his absence.

On the 19th November, 1831, Captain George Turnbull Marshall of the 25th Regiment Native Infantry obtained a Degree of Honour in Persian. Diploma signed "Metcalf" 21 November, 1831.

On the 31st October, 1831, the Committee of Public Instruction applied to Government for the transfer free of cost to the Depository of the Education Committee of the Oriental Books which had been sent to Messrs. Tulloh & Co. for commission sale. These comprised in all 9116 volumes of which 102 had been sold on the 25th January, 1832 (Proc: XIV, page 115). The remaining volumes were made over to the General Committee of Public Instruction by order of Government issued 31st January, 1832.

Major William Price vacated his office on promotion to a majority and on the 30th December, 1831, was granted a certificate testifying to the good services he had rendered the College for a period of 18 years. (XIV. Proc: 61). Pages 76 to 88 are occupied by a list of books on loan from the College Library submitted to Government by Captain Ruddell who was on the eve of departure on leave to England. Government on the 27th December, 1831 sanctioned Captain Ruddell's making over charge of the duties of Secretary to the College from the 1st of January, 1832. On the 11th January, 1832 Captain Ruddell writing from H. C. S. *Minerva* at sea, resigned his office of Secretary to the College of Fort William. On the 17th January Lieutenant Todd was appointed Secretary to the College of Fort William and Secretary to the Madrassa and Muhamedan Schools vice Ruddell resigned. Mr. Proctor was on the same date appointed Examiner in succession to Lieutenant Todd.

In February, 1832, five writers were ordered to return to England in consequence of not having qualified themselves by the requisite knowledge of the native languages to enter upon the public service within the time prescribed by the Honourable the Court of Directors. Their allowances ceased from the date on which they were removed from the College of Fort William.

There is no doubt that the effect of the abolition of the tutorial staff of the College was making itself felt in the inefficiency of the junior civil servants as had often been predicted.

On the 19th March, 1832, Captain I. W. I. Ouseley was directed to take charge of the appointment of Secretary to the College of Fort William and on the 21st March the first letter signed by him after taking charge reports the demise of Lieutenant H. Todd, Secretary to the College at 12 midnight of the 20th March. The notice of this officer's death, aged 28, is in the Government Gazette of March 22nd, 1832, as having occurred at Calcutta but I cannot find his name in the Bengal Obituary nor in Indian Monumental Inscription (Bengal) so that his place of burial remains uncertain.

On the 17th April Captain Onseley was appointed Secretary and Librarian to the College of Fort William and on the 24th April was appointed to act as Examiner until the nomination of a successor to that office or until further orders. Captain G. T. Marshall was appointed Acting Examiner on some date prior to 10th July, 1832, on which date he signs a report as Acting Examiner with the Reverend Mr. Proctor. This appointment was made on the 22nd May, 1832, until further orders. (XIV. Proc: 202). Captain Marshall reported his arrival on the 8th July, 1832. On the 22nd September, 1832, was reported qualified for a Degree of Honour in Hindustani and on the 25th September a letter from Government announced the appointment of Captain Marshall (See Appendix Portraits) to be Examiner on the 31st July, though

it appeared that the intimation of the appointment was not communicated on that date (XIV. Proc: 303). Captain Marshall's diploma bore the signature of Sir Charles Theophilus Metcalfe and was dated 21st September, 1832.

On the 13th January, 1833 Captain Marshall was recommended for ten days' sick leave to proceed on the River in consequence of a dysenteric attack. At this time the attention of the Governor-General in Council was attracted to the fact that several instances had occurred of writers obtaining a certificate of qualification for the public service in the short period of six weeks given them to prepare for their return to England after exceeding the limit of time prescribed for acquiring the languages. An explanation of this fact was called for from the College. This explanation was given by the Examiners (XIV. Proc: 489-491).

In July, 1833, the College represented to Government that a great want was experienced of copies of several of the books made over by the orders of Government in January, 1832, to the General Committee of Public Instruction and asked that orders might be issued to that Committee to supply the College with such of the works as they might require for use in the College on indent. This was sanctioned (See Library Letter Book of 6th July, 1833). In December, 1833, Captain Ouseley, Secretary to the College proposed to Government to compile a second volume of Annals of the College of Fort William on the lines of Captain Roebuck's work, bringing the records of the College up to date from the year 1819. Government, however, expressed an opinion that the continuation of Captain Roebuck's work was not required.

A resolution of the General Department 1st February, 1834, notified that the vacancy in the College of Fort William caused by the departure of the Reverend Thomas Proctor (late Examiner) for England, would not be filled up and directed Captain Ouseley to assist Captain Marshall in conducting the examinations, the former without salary.

In October, 1833, Government intimated that it was not their intention to continue renting the Writers' Buildings after the expiration of the existing lease (which expired 1st May, 1834). Accordingly in April, 1833, the Secretary to the College addressed Government on the subject and recommended seven writers who were then residing in the Buildings to be granted House rent at the usual rate of 80/- a month. There were other students attached to the College but as they were residing with friends they were not recommended for house rent. Captain Ouseley also recommended that the present College building should be retained if it could be secured on reasonable terms. It consisted of the three centre numbers of Writers' Buildings which it will be remembered were thrown into one, and fitted up at considerable cost to Government in 1820. Captain Ouseley's recommendation was mainly based

upon the necessity for a suitable building for the accommodation of the "exceedingly valuable Library of books."

Captain Ouseley in his letter (Proc: XV, pages 130-133) gives a brief history of the foundation of the College Library by Lord Wellesley. He states "The oriental portion of this Library is probably unequalled in point of value and extent throughout Asia, the European part is less extensive but contains a choice collection of History, Travels, Jurisprudence, Ethics, Divinity, Metaphysics, Grammar, Lexicography, Greek and Latin Classics besides numerous works on the modern European Languages particularly in French, Italian and Danish." Captain Ouseley had heard a rumour that the Committee for the Concentration of Public Offices had recently proposed to transfer the books of the College Library to the Asiatic Society's House and in asking whether this plan had the concurrence of Government stated that the Governor-General before leaving for Madras had intended that on vacating the Writers' Buildings a house should be taken for the College and Library. There were several objections urged to the adoption of this plan, not the least being the absence of the requisite rooms in the Asiatic Society's house. It was essential that a suite of apartments sufficient to accommodate the Library should be built either at the expense of Government or of the Asiatic Society. It was feared, however, that in consequence of the failure of its Treasurers Messrs. Macintosh & Co., the Asiatic Society would have no funds to spare for such a purpose. "The Vaults and Lobbies," he writes, "are in truth the only places in that house at present available for such a purpose, and these are incapable of containing above half the books of the College Library but even if this were not the case I feel assured that His Honour in Council would never consign materials constituting so noble a foundation for the formation of a National Library to perish in the vaults and passages of the Asiatic Society's house. Viewing the question in a different light it might be doubted whether that economy be sound which would be valued even in the Honourable Company's dead stock account at 40 or £50,000 to the risk of being lost or injured, for the sake of saving a sum in house rent that could never exceed 300/- or 400/- rupees a month." Captain Ouseley concludes by soliciting Government to engage the premises at present occupied by the College for a further period. He also asked for authority as Librarian to purchase books for the Library to a limited extent. Some arrangement of this kind had become necessary as very few books had been purchased during the preceding six or seven years, and not one since the discontinuance of the College Council who had authority to pass bills on such account to the extent of 100 rupees without reference to Government.

This letter produced the desired effect and Captain Ouseley was directed

to ascertain from the proprietors of the Writers' Buildings the terms on which a renewed lease of the premises occupied by the College separately from the rest of the range could be had by Government. The Agent and Trustee (Mr. C. R. Barwell) replied asking 450/- rupees a month as rent. Government sanctioned this on the condition that the premises were to be taken only from month to month and might be vacated with a month's notice. Mr. Barwell assented to this arrangement. A slight difficulty arose with reference to Nos. 1 and 2 Writers' Buildings the quarters occupied by the Secretary for which Mr. Barwell asked 300/- rupees a month. Captain Ouseley referring the question to Government, the Vice President in Council declined to sanction the payment of 300/- rupees a month for the Secretary's quarters and asked the Secretary to state the grounds upon which he claimed to be provided with a house at the public expense, and also asked Captain Ouseley to suggest some cheaper and more advantageous arrangement for the accommodation of himself and the College supposing his claim for the public quarters to be admitted. Captain Ouseley replied that he had made enquiries regarding other suitable houses for the accommodation of the College but none was available. He based his claim to a Public residence on the grounds of expediency and past usage for 20 years, and asked for 250/- a month in lieu of quarters. Government in their reply reserved his claim for future consideration. On the 20th August having received no reply Captain Ouseley again urged his claims in a temperate but vigorously argued letter, which however, only resulted in a further shelving of his claim.

John Innes Schank a student attached to the College died of dysentery on the night of Saturday September 27th, 1834, aged 20 (South Park Street Burial Ground). In May, 1835, the General Committee of Public Instruction having decided to break up the Book Depository returned to the College of Fort William the books originally received from it. (Lists Proc: XV, pages 291-294) in all 6719 volumes.

On the 23rd September, 1835, Government called for a report upon the present state of the Library of the College with a list of the books distinguishing the European from the Oriental works. A reply was sent on the 30th. October stating that although a catalogue of the European printed books had been printed in 1818 and a supplement of the books since added to the Library had also been prepared, the catalogues of Oriental Manuscripts had never been translated nor had even the names of the books been given in the Roman character. Three lists were now submitted containing the titles of every book in the College Library. No. 1 European printed books; No. 2 Oriental printed books; No. 3 Oriental manuscripts.

The European portion of the Library contained about 5224 volumes.

The Oriental printed books amounted to about 11,718 volumes. The oriental manuscripts amounted to 4,255 of which Captain Ouseley writes "Several of these works are highly illuminated and of great rarity." In point of extent the collection of oriental manuscripts in the College Library exceeds every similar collection of which I have any knowledge. The Library of the Escorial is said to contain about 1850 oriental manuscripts. The Leyden Library 1993 and the Bodleian at Oxford 1561.....In the Royal Library at Paris but it is probable that it does not exceed that of the College Library which contains 4255 volumes. There was evidently at this time a proposal to transfer the European works to the Public Library which was then about to be established in Calcutta. Captain Ouseley now suggested that the oriental manuscripts should be at the same time transferred to the Asiatic Society "on condition that the Committee of that Society undertake to preserve them in their present good order and to allow literary men whether member of the Asiatic Society or not, to consult them." The Public Library was placed under the care of the following gentlemen as Curators.

Sir Edward Ryan, W. P. Grant, Esq., Charles Cameron, Esq., J. R. Colvin, Esq., H. M. Parker, Esq., J. C. Marshman, Esq., and T. Dickins, Esq. with Mr. J. H. Stocqueler as Honorary Secretary. It was established on the 31st October by a General Meeting held at the Town Hall. "Commodious premises forming the lower apartment of Dr. Strong's House in Esplanade Row have been selected for the present reception of all works that may be purchased or presented." Thus writes Mr. Stocqueler in the course of his letter of November 19th asking Government to give the necessary instructions to the Secretary to the College of Fort William to make over to the Curator the European Printed Books belonging to the Fort William College for the use of the Public Library under certain conditions which the Committee of Curators were prepared to fulfil. These conditions are contained in a letter from Mr. H. T. Prinsep, Secretary to Government, dated 4th November, 1835, (Proceedings XV, 397-398). These conditions were in brief (1) The permanent establishment of the Library Society (2) The approbation of the Honourable Court of Directors of the transfer of books (3) The proper care and custody of books.

The form of agreement will be found at page 401 of Proceedings Vol. XV. It is dated 19th January, 1836. The Curators also asked for the loan of the College book cases till their own were ready. This was sanctioned by Government. Mr. Stacey was the first Librarian and was deputed by the Curators to arrange with the Secretary to the College for taking delivery of the books. As the books were only lent and the Curators were liable to be called upon to give them back to Government, attention was necessary to be

observed in taking them over and duplicate lists were to be prepared for signature both by Mr. Stacey and Captain Ouseley. (XV. Proc: 402). The books were transferred on the 27th February, 1836. The list of these books exists among the College Records in manuscripts. It records the transfer of 4990 volumes and is signed by W. H. Stacy, *Librarian*, W. P. Grant, A. R. Jackson and John Bell, *Curators*.

On the 17th February, 1836, Government called for a report of the monthly cost in Establishment and House Rent incurred in the maintenance of the oriental portion of the College Library, and the saving in House Rent which would result from the making over the custody of the Asiatic books forming the remainder of the College Library to the Asiatic Library.

In replying on the 23rd February Captain Ouseley stated that the establishment maintained for the care of the Library of the College cost 282/- monthly. No separate house rent was incurred on account of the oriental portion of the Library, but "if it were transferred to the rooms of the Asiatic Society sufficient accommodation for the College and class books might perhaps be provided without cost to Government in some of the buildings at the disposal of the Committee for concentrating public offices: or if such an arrangement be not feasible, two numbers of the Writers' Buildings would then be ample for the purposes of the College by which one third of the present rent might be saved." On the 24th February the Secretary to Government wrote that the Governor of Bengal had "resolved to make over the oriental books of the late College Library to the Asiatic Society on condition that the Society shall provide fit accommodation for them, and hold them open to the public for reference and perusal as proposed in the letter of the Secretary of that Society. The property in the books is to remain with the Government until the Honourable Court of Directors shall decide upon the final transfer, and until then the Government will allow to the Asiatic Society a monthly sum of 78/- rupees for establishment to take care of the books."

The Secretary to the College on the 1st April, 1836, reported to Government that the oriental manuscripts had been handed over to the Asiatic Society. The lists of these manuscripts are among the College Records and consists of two manuscript volumes one of "Muhammadan Mss." comprising 2681 volumes and the other "Hindoo Mss." consisting of 1131 volumes. The receipt is in both cases signed J. Prinsep, Secretary, Asiatic Society. On the 5th March, 1836, Captain Ouseley reported to the Committee for the Concentration of Public Offices, that "two thirds of the space at present occupied by the College will in future suffice for the purposes of that Institution" and suggested that if the proprietors of Writers' Buildings would "agree to furnish a staircase to the present examination Room on the west

side and to make a few necessary alterations in the centre room, one whole number on the east side might be dispensed with."

On the 8th June, 1836, the Governor of Bengal sanctioned the retention of the premises in the Writers' Buildings occupied by the College upon the reduced rent of 400 Company's rupees per mensem, on a lease of four years as recommended by the Committee for the Concentration of Public Offices.

On Monday, the 19th March, 1838, Mr. C. F. Young, a student attached to the College, died at his own house in Chowringhee of cholera. Aged 26 years. His grave is in the North Park Street Burial Ground.

On the 20th June, 1838, Captain Ouseley was informed that he had been appointed Superintendent of the Mysore Princes on the consolidated salary of 1,813 rupees per mensem. "Captain Ouseley was to be succeeded in the Secretaryship of the College by Captain Marshall, but was to retain his situation of Secretary to the Madrassa and to the Law Examination Committee. His services were also to be retained for the examination of the students at the College of Fort William, and in this way the Government would be able to dispense with the services of the Examiners now kept up separately from the Secretary." On the same date (June 20) Captain Marshall was appointed Secretary and Examiner of the College of Fort William on a consolidated salary of 1,000/- a month and was informed that as Captain Ouseley's services would be available for assistance in conducting examinations, Government did not intend to fill up the additional examinership. This arrangement resulted in a saving of 600/- a month. Government decided to appropriate this amount in providing a seminary of education for the Members and Dependents of the Mysore Princes Family. Captain Ouseley was directed to submit a scheme in accordance with this proposal. Captain Marshall assumed charge of the Office of Secretary on the 4th July, 1838. On the 7th August he received intimation from the adjutant, that his regiment the 35th N. I. was ordered to proceed on active service. On the 25th October Captain Marshall wrote for permission to join his corps, but was refused (XVI. Proceedings 112). In October, 1839, the imposition of an additional duty upon the College Examiners, namely, the examination of candidates for admission to the secondary school in connection with the Medical College rendered assistance necessary. Major Ouseley who was officiating for Captain Marshall during the latter's leave from 1st to 31st October, wrote to Government asking that a learned native might be associated with the Examiners on a salary of 100 rupees a month, and nominating Hafiz Ahmed Kabeer for the post. Government, however, declined to accede to this. Major Ouseley again wrote explaining the necessity for such an appointment. Government, however, replied that there had evidently been some mistake in the interpretation of



the orders and that candidates had been sent up who ought not to have appeared.

On the 14th August 1839, the Honourable Court of Directors sanctioned the transfer of the books and manuscripts, which had taken place in 1836.

On the 5th December, the Secretary Captain G. T. Marshall wrote to Government suggesting the desirability of devising some method for ensuring steady exertion on the part of students with the view of saving them from the severe penalty of dismissal in the event of their failing to qualify within 12 months. He suggested the re-establishment of daily lectures under efficient European superintendence. The reply received was that the Deputy Governor did not feel competent to entertain the question, the abolition having been made under the resolution of the Government of India. An early opportunity would, however, be taken to bring the subject under the consideration of the Honourable the President in Council.

In September, 1839, the Honourable Court of Directors made enquiries as to the nature of the examinations in languages held in India, in the case of writers, their object being to ascertain with accuracy the extent to which the course of instruction in the oriental languages adopted at the East India College was favourable to the attainment of those qualifications which were required from the junior civil servants to fit them for public employment. Captain Marshall replied that upon arrival writers were subjected to an "Initiatory Examination" to test his knowledge of the language selected. The result of this examination was reported. The acquirements of the candidates were as a rule meagre, and they could not translate from English into an oriental language.

In April, 1840, Captain Marshall applied for eight months' leave to Darjeeling on medical certificate. This leave was granted and Captain St. George D. Showers was appointed to act for him as Secretary and Examiner in the Persian language. Captain Showers was informed that he was expected to qualify himself as an Examiner in the Hindee Language within two months. (29th April, 1840.)

Captain Marshall handed over charge May 1st, 1840 (Proc: XVI. 374) Captain Marshall returned from leave and resumed charge on the 1st January, 1841. In February, Captain Marshall proceeded on deputation to Benares and the duties of Secretary were performed by Major Ouseley from March 1st and resumed them on the 1st April. In July, 1841, the Curators of the Calcutta Public Library wrote to the Secretary to the College asking for the temporary use of two rooms which were understood to be unoccupied as Dr. Strong's house was about to undergo repair, and the Metcalfe Hall a part

of which was to be appropriated for the Public Library was not yet completed. The accommodation asked for was granted by the Visitor.

At the end of this year (1841) the Persian translation of the Qamus called Muntabal Arab was completed after many vicissitudes by Munshi Abdul Rahim, son of Abdul Karim and the Government grant of 8,000/- was completed.

In May, 1842, three students of the College incurred the grave displeasure of the Deputy-Governor on account of their names having appeared in the Public press as subscribers to a steeplechase. They were directed "to withdraw their names at once from the notice referred to and cease to expose themselves in so discreditable a manner to animadversion." Apparently as a corollary to this we find the Deputy Governor of Bengal expressing himself as "deeply impressed with the necessity of a more strict enforcement of the rules and regulations prescribed for the College of Fort William and of subjection of the conduct of the students generally to close supervision and control." In accordance with this he ordered that the periodical reports to Government should embody remarks upon the general conduct and ability of the students, who were in future to undergo a monthly examination after which they were to be assembled at the College to have their errors pointed out to them by the Examiners "who will avail themselves of the opportunity of making such remarks for the benefit of the students as their conduct collectively or individually may appear to call for." No student was to be allowed to reside at a greater distance from the College Buildings than the Secretary might think advisable. The Secretary was enjoined to strictly enforce Rule XXI of the Rules in force (enacted 23rd June, 1841) with reference to the removal of idle students. If a student exceeded the twelve months allowed for passing in two languages, the Secretary was to report whether this failure was the result of incapacity or idleness. After fifteen months, if still unqualified, the student was to cease drawing any allowance and directed to return to England as unfit for the civil service.

Students were to be entitled to promotion according to the date of their leaving College due consideration being given to established claims arising out of approved official service.

An annual report was to be printed and published exhibiting the proficiency and general conduct of every student together with the orders of Government thereon.

These directions were to be printed together with the rules and regulations, dated the 23rd June, 1841, to be delivered to every student on his admission, but the bound volume of the Statutes of the College of Fort William in the Imperial Library, which originally belonged to the College of Fort

William does not contain the directions. It ends with the Rules and Regulations of 1841 nor can any printed copy be found among the records of the College.

On the 2nd July, 1842, 44 candidates for admission to the secondary or military class of the Medical College were examined in Hindustani by Major Ouseley and Captain Marshall. Again in December, 1842, 58 were examined. On March 20th, 1843, 41 and on August, 1843, 43-52.

On the 20th July, 1842, Rule 10 of the Regulations of 1841 making Persian compulsory was so far modified as to allow students to take Urdu and Bengalee in place of Persian and Bengalee.

On the 25th January, 1843, the first Report on the general conduct and ability of the students of the College of Fort William was prepared and signed by the Secretary, 26 names occur (XVII Proc: page 286). The next is issued on the 7th February, then on the 4th March, 7th April.

On the 20th June, 1843, Lieutenant Stephen of the 8th Native Infantry A. D. C. to the Deputy Governor of Bengal was awarded a Degree of Honour in Persian.

XI. 1844. In this year a printed form was issued from the Adjutant General's Office prescribing the test to be observed in the examination of officers by District Committees, and directing that for the sake of uniformity the same test should be applied by the examiners of the College of Fort William. Major Ouseley and Captain Marshall (XVII. Proc. pages 620-621) wrote advertising to this form and pointing out that it departed from and in some places increased the difficulty of the test prescribed under the General Orders of the Commander-in-Chief dated 27th. May 1823 which fixed the test for the examination of Interpreters. This they considered a very efficient test, but asked that if His Lordship in Council preferred to adopt the test laid down in the printed form due intimation should be given to the army, in order that candidates might be duly prepared. (10th February, 1844). It was decided to adhere to the provisions of G. O. C. C. of 27th May 1823, and the District Committees were to be instructed accordingly.

On the 7th March, 1844 Major Ouseley resigned his office as Acting Examiner to the College, being about to proceed to Europe on furlough and was permitted to take with him a copy of certain works. In accepting Major Ouseley's resignation the Deputy Governor expressed to Major Ouseley the thanks of Government for the good services he had rendered in the several situations held by him.

By a General Order of the Governor-General of India in Council dated 1st March 1844 it was laid down that all Subaltern Officers and Assistant Surgeons

of the Indian Army should possess an acquaintance with the language of the country to such an extent as should qualify them for free and unreserved personal communication with the native soldiery. H. E. the Commander-in-Chief called upon the Secretary to the College to report what examination he would consider sufficient to ensure this order being complied with. It was considered by His Excellency that examination in Hindustani which was then required to qualify an officer for Staff employ would be too strict a test.

Captain Marshall in his reply (XVII. Proc. 658 &c.) took the view that only a colloquial examination was contemplated and stated that this might be carried out in two-ways—by actual conversation carried on by the examiners with the candidates in Hindustani and by a written paper of English sentences prepared by the Examiners and read sentence by sentence to each candidate in order that he might translate each sentence off-hand into Hindustani *viva voce*. The former plan seemed to Captain Marshall too indefinite and variable, too likely also to be influenced by the peculiar notions and acquirements of different examiners. He therefore preferred the latter method which had been long employed with success in the College for the colloquial portion of the Interpreters' Examination. Captain Marshall also suggested the desirability of appointing a Medical Officer as Member of a Board for the Examination of Assistant Surgeons. The paper of sentences was to be read out one by one, and the candidate's translation written down by another Member of the Board and a note made of his ability at the conclusion of each candidate's performance of this task. Captain Marshall considered that if a candidate could fulfil these requirements his ability to understand the spoken language might be inferred on the general principle that to understand a language is easier than to speak it. He also considered that detailed instructions should be sent to each Committee as to the method to be observed in conducting the examination in order to secure uniformity of test, lest an officer might be reported as unqualified in one district and yet be of superior attainments to one reported unqualified in another.

In May 1844 Mr. Heatly, Secretary to the Lyceum, applied for accommodation in the lower rooms of the College. His application was granted. In June 1844 four of the munshis were discharged to pension, and the Deputy Governor of Bengal ordered that their places were not to be filled. It was thought that the appointment of a fluctuating establishment of munshis to meet varying requirements would stimulate this class of teachers to exertion and be productive of greater efficiency. On the 16th, August 1844 Lieutenant Colonel S. D. Riley assumed his appointment as an Examiner of the College. Since March 4th the date of the resignation of Major Ouseley Captain Marshall had been sole examiner in addition to performing the duties of Secretary.

On the 26th October 1844 a resolution by the Government of India declared that the allowances of students on first joining the College should for the future be 250/- a month. Upon passing in one language he was to receive 300/- a month. If permitted to remain in the College to study for Honours or to acquire additional languages, a student received the full salary granted to qualified assistants on leaving College *viz.*, 400 a month. The period for qualifying in two languages was to be limited to 15 months at Fort William and Bombay and 18 months at Fort St. George, but the local Governments were, however, empowered to grant extension up to six months more after which a student failing to qualify was to be finally removed from the service and a passage found for him on application at the public expense.

In June 1845 an uniform test for the examination of officers by the Military Interpreter's standard was laid down by H. E. the Commander-in-Chief and was adopted by the College upon the recommendation of the Secretary in the following August. On the 4th September 1845 Dr. Sprenger, Secretary to the Vernacular Society at Delhi sent some Urdu books for inspection, a few were taken for the use of the College.

On the 25th October, 1845, a plan for the establishment of a University in Calcutta was forwarded to the College by Dr. F. J. Mouat, Secretary to the Council of Education, though it was not till January, 1857 that the University was actually established.

On the 6th March 1846 Dr. F. J. Mouat presented to the College a copy of an Atlas of Anatomical Plates with descriptive letter press in Hindustani.

In 1846 a long correspondence took place between the Secretary to the College and Government on the subject of New Rules for the instruction of the students. There were two alternative schemes, one for appointing Native Professors and the other for reverting to the original system of European Professors. The question seems to have been shelved after reference to the Court of Directors who probably booked it. For some years past the cost of the College had been kept well under 50,000. The proposal for re-appointing European Professors on the old footing would have been attended with so much expense that it is not likely to have met with the approval of the Honourable Court of Directors.

On the 23rd September 1846 Mr. R. Temple was admitted as a student. In March 1847 Captain Marshall was promoted to the rank of Major and in consequence became disqualified to hold the office of Secretary to the College under the provisions of the General Orders of the Governor-General, dated 23rd May, 1823. He accordingly wrote to Government asking if it was their intention to retain his services, and if so soliciting an increase of salary to guard him against loss. Eventually Major Marshall was allowed a con-

solidated salary of 1,500 a month and on these terms consented to continue in his appointment pending the decision of the Honourable Court of Directors on a reference which had been made to them on the point, as it was recognised that there was no one fitted to succeed Major Marshall (XIX. Proc. A-F). On the 21st June 1847 Mr. James Ballantyne, Secretary to the Local Committee of Public Instruction at Benares, informed the Secretary of the College that it was proposed to publish a new edition of the first two books of Euclid in the Sanskrit language and on the symbolical plan, under the editorship of Pundit Bapa Deo. In the first book 35 additional demonstrations of Euclid's propositions were to be given and in the second book 13. The work was to be lithographed at Bombay in the best style. If this volume was well supported the remaining books were to be published successively.

On the 30th. February 1847 the Honourable Court of Directors wrote complaining that orders as to the transmission to them of copies of all works published either at Serampore or in Calcutta, had been imperfectly carried out and desiring more regular attention to their directions in future.

At pages 146-148 Proceedings XIX. occurs a list of works sent home in response to this letter.

In July 1847 Mr. James Corceran, (?) Urdu Translator to the Sudder Court submitted his Urdu History of the Chinese Empire, Government subscribed for 100 copies. It was to be in two volumes at 8 rupees a volume.

Major Marshall obtained leave of absence for one month on medical certificate from 16th August 1847 to proceed to the Sandheads. Dr. E. Roer acting for him during his absence.

In October 1847 Government sanctioned a subscription for 100 copies of an Urdu translation of the Akhlaqi Jalali to be called the Jami-ul-Akhlaq by Maulvi Ghulam Haidar.

On the 8th October 1847 Major Marshall applied for leave for a year on medical certificate to visit Darjeeling. The leave was granted on the 13th October and Lieutenant Colonel Riley was appointed to act for him and in November Dr. Roer was appointed Examiner in Bengali on a salary of 200 a month.

In July 1848 complaints having been made by certain students that the munshis and pundits who taught in the College were not efficient, sanction was given by Government to their engaging their own munshis and pundits who would receive the authorised allowance on production of certificates signed by the students they had attended. The fixed establishment of 3 munshis and 4 pundits attached to the College was to be maintained. Lieutenant-Colonel Riley the Officiating Secretary wrote to Government recommending that

these munshis and pundits should have their connection with the College severed as in the first place difficulties might arise as to the allotment of them to students under the new system and in the second it was his opinion that the College would work better without them. In July, 1848, also rules were drawn up to regulate the behaviour of students at examinations in consequence of a report to Government by the Officiating Secretary (Lieutenant-Colonel Riley) of serious irregularities and breaches of discipline. It seems that from the earliest institution of the College one and the same set of examination papers had been in use, consequently it was not to be wondered at that there were cases of fraud and that certain munshis who were in possession of these sets of exercises were preferred to others who were not so privileged. It was ordered that a completely new set of examination papers was to be prepared. Lieutenant Colonel Riley endeavoured to delay the preparation of these papers till the return of Major Marshall but Government refused to sanction this delay.

Major Marshall resumed the office of Secretary to the College early in January 1849.

In May, the purchase from Messrs. Thacker & Co. of a "Parlour Printing Press" at the cost of 160 was authorised for the purpose of enabling the Secretary to compose and strike off his own hand new exercises (English to be translated into the Native Languages) for every monthly examination.

On the 21st January 1850 the Secretary, Major Marshall, suggested to Government the desirability of holding examinations for the admission of munshis and pundits annually in the months of January and February. These examinations were to be the test of qualification to teach students the standard was to be the same as the Degree of Honour for students with the additional requirement of a fair knowledge of English. No certificated munshi was to be allowed to draw pay for more than three students at a time, and the allowance for each student was to be raised to 50/-. It appeared that the munshis and pundits on the fixed establishment of the College were not resorted to by the students and that 15 outside munshis and pundits had been employed by them since the new rules were introduced allowing students to make their own arrangements for tuition (XX. Proc. 30). In consequence of this the Secretary was directed to submit a report upon the fixed establishment of munshis and their qualifications for their duties. As this order was couched in an unusual form and written by Mr. Under-Secretary Seton Karr, Major Marshall took umbrage at it and referred it to the Government who directed a letter to be substituted for the obnoxious memorandum (XX. Proc. 36). In the result the fixed establishment of munshis and pundits was ordered to be discharged to pension or gratuity as the case might be.

On March 5th, Lieutenant Keightly, 44th, Regiment Native Infantry, obtained a Degree of Honour in Persian.

XX. Proceedings pages 85-88 contains a list of oriental works for transmission to England to the Honourable Court of Directors.

In this year the salary of 1,500 which had been drawn by Major Marshall as Secretary and Examiner to the College from the date of his promotion to a Majority was reduced by order of the Honourable Court of Directors to the sum of 1,250. These orders were contained in a Despatch in the Financial Department No. 20 of 1849 para. 3. Although "the extensive acquirements of Major Marshall and his long services, combined with the circumstance that there is no other officer under the rank of Major qualified to succeed him should he quit the College" had been made the grounds of their recommendation by the Government of India, the Honourable Court were not able to acquiesce in their decision to confirm the grant of 1,500 a month; the object not being to attach such a salary to the office of Secretary to the College as should retain the services of a particular individual howsoever valuable his services might be but to award a fair and equitable remuneration for the duties to be discharged. Major Marshall's allowances were to be reduced to 1,250/- from the the date of the receipt of the despatch in question.

Major Marshall accordingly memorialised the Honourable Court of Directors XX. Proc. 95—pointing out the hardship inflicted upon by this order. He had been induced to remain in the appointment by a decision of the Government of India sanctioning a consolidated allowance of 1,500/- a month, which arrangement he understood was final and had foregone "favourable prospects in the military line." Failing confirmation of the order granting him 1,500/- a month Major Marshall submitted that he was entitled to be paid at the rate of 1,250/- a month from the date of his first appointment and requested that the difference might now be made good to him. The Court, however, refused to grant either request (XX: Proc. 103).

XX. Proc. pages 183, 184, List of oriental works transmitted to Honourable Court of Directors. XX. Proc. pages 262-266 also pages 481-483 transmitted to Honourable Court of Directors.

On the 3rd December, 1850 the name of A. Sprenger appears with that of Major Marshall as Examiner for the first time.

On the 16th April, 1851 A. Sprenger Examiner of the College wrote to Major Marshall expressing his intention of producing new editions of some of the text books. He had commenced with the Gulistan of which he submitted a specimen. Government authorised a subscription for 100 copies at 5/8 a copy. (XX. Proc. 439).



On the 9th April, the Honourable Court of Directors sanctioned the extension to the Bengal Army of the reward of 1,000/-rupees for obtaining high proficiency in the native languages, recognising the great importance to the public service of a thorough acquaintance with the native languages among officers of the Military Service. In July of this year the Government of India directed the Secretary to the College of Fort William to submit a plan for conducting the periodical examination of military officers and detailed instructions for the guidance of Examination Committee in conducting the examination of Interpreters. In response to this a scheme was submitted by which the desired uniformity of test would be attained. This scheme has practically been maintained with minor modifications up to the present time. Ensign W. N. Lees 42nd. Regiment Native Light Infantry obtained a Degree of Honour in Persian on the 21st. October 1851 and on the 22nd November 1851 he obtained a certificate of High Proficiency in Urdu, and on the 20th. April 1852 a Degree of Honour in Urdu.

On the 13th May 1852 Major Marshall applied to Government for an increase to his salary on the ground that his duties had been greatly increased by his being constituted an ex-officio member of the Committee for examining Direct Cadets (G. O. 1st September, 1851) also by the officer of the College being required to conduct the half-yearly examination at all the military stations throughout the Bengal Presidency (G. O. 7th July, 1851). Also by the institution of money prizes for military officers to be awarded by the College Examiners to perform by far the largest portion of the duties formerly performed half-yearly by Station Examination Committees.

Major Marshall asked for an increase from 1,250/- to 1,500/- from date of this last quoted order. He sought this as a personal allowance in consideration of his long services and pointed out that it could not be for long as his promotion to Lieutenant Colonel would in all probability take place before the expiry of a year. To this Government replied that Major Marshall's application had been referred for the consideration and orders of the Honourable Court of Directors, who eventually refused to entertain it. (Proc. XXI. 824).

Major Marshall upon his promotion to a Lieutenant Colonelcy vacated the office of Secretary and was succeeded in it by Ensign W. N. Lees on 5th. March, 1853. I cannot find any letter of appointment. On the 17th March Ensign Lees writes to Government as follows:—

“Having been appointed simply Secretary to the College I have the honour to request you will inform me if it is the wish of the Most Noble the Visitor that I should take any part in the examination of the students. My predecessor having been both Secretary and Examiner, I seek this information

that my position as Secretary may be more clearly defined by competent authority."

To this Mr. Cecil Beadon, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, replied on the 19th March.

"I am directed by the Most Noble the Governor of Bengal to state that it is a part of the duty of the Secretary to the College to attend and preside at all examinations both of civil and military officers and to take such part in them as he may think expedient."

This separation of the office of Secretary and Examiner was doubtless to retain the services of Lieutenant-Colonel Marshall in the latter capacity for a time.

In April 1853, Mr. K. M. Banerjea was appointed Examiner in Sanskrit and Bengalee in succession to Lieutenant Colonel Marshall.

Lieutenant Colonel Marshall 12th Regiment Native Infantry was declared on the 19th April, 1853 to have qualified in Urdu and Hindi for the money prize granted to Military officers for proficiency in the native languages by the terms of G. G. O., dated 9th March, 1852. The Government of Bengal, however, referred the question of the grant to the Government of India quoting the case of Brevet Major F.A. Miles of the Artillery who claimed the reward though he was about to retire from the service. Government, however, decided that Colonel Marshall was to receive the reward to which he was entitled under the strict letters of the regulations (XX. Proc. 1060). On a reference from Government on the subject the Secretary to the College of Fort William advised that orders should be framed restricting the grant of the money reward to officers of certain periods of service requiring from all claimants for the reward a declaration on honour that they had no present intention of retiring from the service. In reply Government decided that every officer had a right to be examined but the question of granting or withholding the reward in any particular case would be decided by Government. On the 3rd. October 1853 Lieutenant-Colonel Marshall wrote from Mooltan to the Secretary asking him to submit to Government his application to be "allowed a favour which has usually been extended to persons who have served as officers of the College, on the occasion of their finally leaving the institution, namely a grant of a certain number of oriental books from the Library." The list of books 77 in number is appended. This application was granted (XX. Proc. 1160).

On the 29th October 1853 the Secretary to the College forwarded to Government of India in the Military Department two draft forms of Report upon the half-yearly Military Examination recommending their adoption in room of those hitherto in use. These new forms were deemed necessary to check irregularities on the part of Station Committees. This proposal was sanctioned and

the change notified in G. G. O. No. 947 of 18th November 1853. On December 28th 1853 the Reverend James Long Secretary to the Vernacular Literature Committee wrote asking for the grant of a copy of each of the Bengalee Books from the Library of the College of Fort William. A list of these (55 in number) occurs at pages 1201, 1202 Proc. XXI. The Vernacular Literature Committee's Library would be deposited in the Public Library. This was sanctioned by the Government of Bengal.

(List at pages 1204, 1205 Proc. XXI.)

For some reason which does not appear from the College Records it was decided to abolish the College and on the 24th. January 1854 orders to that effect by the Most Noble the Governor of Bengal were issued.

[ *To be continued.* ]

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# Early Days of Postal Administration in India—I.

A SUCCINT ACCOUNT.

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CUSTOMS AND POST OFFICE COMMITTEE.

*Calcutta, the 13th February, 1836.*

To—The Secretary to the Government of India,

General Department.

SIR,—I have the honour under instructions from the Committee for the revision of the Customs and Post Office Departments of India, to forward for submission to his honour the Governor-General-in-Council, the accompanying report No. II bearing date this day on the existing systems of the Post Office Department throughout India, the same being their first report in that branch of enquiry.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

(Sd.) T. J. TAYLOR,

Secretary, Customs and Post Office Committee.

REPORT II.

To—The Secretary to the Government of India, General Department.

CUSTOMS AND POST OFFICE COMMITTEE,

*Calcutta, the 13th February, 1836.*

SIR,—In obedience to the instructions conveyed in the letters from Government at the several dates specified in the margin\* and to the letter from Committee to Mr. Secretary Prinsep of the 5th December last, we have now the honour to submit for consideration of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General-in-Council the accompanying report on the several existing systems of the Post Office Department throughout India.

2. A post for the conveyance of mails exists throughout the British Territories in Hindustan and on such routes through the several Native States in amity with us as Government have chosen to direct. The expenses of establishment maintained for this purpose are defrayed from the public treasury. The rates of postage are regulated by Government and the collections thereon realized are brought to account as part and parcel of the revenue.

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\* 13 March, 1 April, 25 November, 1835.

3. The only foreign European Settlement which possesses its own post office is Goa, the communications in which Province, as also with our nearest Post Office are conducted at the cost of the Portuguese State, at the other Foreign Settlements Pondicherry, Damaun, Carical, Tranquebar and Chandernagar the Post Office Department is conducted by our Government which appoints its own servants and realizes the postage on letters received or despatched while for the petty settlements of Yanam in the Northern Circars and Mahe on the Malabar Coast letters are received or delivered at our nearest Post Offices, Ingeram and Tellicherry respectively.

4. Besides the Dak established by Government there are through some portions of the British Territories Native Daks maintained by foreign native princes or private individuals by which native letters are conveyed at much lighter postage than is levied by the Post Office Department. But the Committee are not yet in possession of very accurate information as to what extent they are employed or in what districts they exist. In the Madras Presidency we are not aware that any such Daks exist. In Bombay they formerly existed to some extent but were put down and prohibited by a special enactment Regulation XI of 1830. In the Northern Provinces of India they are known to exist to some extent more especially in the neighbourhood of Delhi and Agra. There are native Daks, moreover in some of the great Native States, and by that of the Hyderabad State our mails to and from certain stations of His Highness's Army, as also for 200 miles of the route between Hyderabad and Aurrungabad are conveyed but whether the receipts on account of letters so carried are paid into the British treasury does not very clearly appear from the conflicting accounts at present before us. The Dak moreover from Deesa to Balnair a distance of 130 miles is conveyed by mounted horsemen of the Guicowar contingent.

5. With these exceptions, the whole of the charges incurred on account of the Post Office Departments throughout India are paid by the British Government but it would appear that those charges have not been invariably entered under their proper heads in the public accounts or defrayed from the Post Office collections.

6. The Post Office throughout India has not hitherto been viewed as one united department nor has any attempt been made to conduct it on uniform principles. Each Presidency has had its own Post Master General. Each has framed its own internal arrangements, has adopted its own rates of postage and instituted its own public regulations without connection or reference to those of its neighbour which it appears to have viewed as a foreign state. Each has acted as though general interests were secondary to individual inter-

ests and as though the gain of a sum with one hand which was lost with the other, was yet a real gain to the State.

7. The result has been three separate co-existing systems in which hardly any two items assimilate from the rate of travelling or the scale of postage to the mode of collecting it or the control of the accounts.

8. It has accordingly been necessary to institute minute enquiries in each Presidency into every branch of the department alike in its external regulations as respects the public as in those particulars more immediately affecting Government, the revenue realized from this source and the charges therefrom defrayed to contract each with the other with great care to ascertain what additions are required in order to render it perfectly efficient and what reductions may be effected in existing establishments without impairing their real efficiency. In our present report we propose to confine ourselves to a detailed description of the department, as it now exists in three Presidencies respectively and we have accordingly the honour to submit the following analysis of the several systems for the consideration of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General-in-Council.

9. The mode in which we propose to apply a remedy for existing evils, to set aside existing anomalies and reconcile all discrepancies by establishing one general regulation for the Post Offices throughout India, and a code of laws adapted for the control of the department, the protection of the revenue and recognition and punishment of offences will form the subject of a second report, when we are prepared to lay before Government the financial results of the last five years and a prospective estimate of results that may be expected from the system we propose to recommend, the modes in which the accounts in the three Presidencies are severally kept, controlled, audited and finally passed, the check which may now exist against misappropriation of postage and other frauds or the absence of any such check will also form part of our second report, as we have not yet received replies from the several Postmasters-General and other local authorities from whom we have requested full information on the subject.

10. The Post Office Department of India is superintended by three Postmasters-General with such number of Deputy Postmasters subordinate to each, as circumstances have rendered necessary. Each Postmaster General has the entire and exclusive direction of the Department within his own range, subject to the control of Government to which he reports direct. In Bengal the Postmaster-General was formerly subordinate to Revenue Board but he is now an independent officer in like manner as at the other two Presidencies.

11. The General Post Office at Calcutta extends its control over both the Bengal and Agra Presidencies with the whole of the Native States of Central

India, and those of Nagpur and Hyderabad as also the British Settlements of Penang, Malacca and Singapur in the Straits. It unites with the Department of the other Presidencies at seven different points—First with that of Madras at Preaghy a few miles from Ganjam whence its mails are conveyed by the Madras Department as far as Moonegallah 80 miles west of Masulipatam and thence are resumed by the Bengal Post Office to Hyderabad. The southern mail from Hyderabad is conveyed by the Bengal Department to Kurnool on the Toombudra river whence it is carried south by that of Madras. The western mails from Hyderabad to Poonah as far as Sholapur, the great western mails from Calcutta to Bombay as far as Aurangabad, the mails from Upper India to Bombay as far as Sindwah 90 miles south of Indore and to the westward of Neemuch as far as Pahlampur are all conveyed by the Bengal Post Office at which four places they respectively unite with that of the Bombay Department.

12. The Madras Department unites with that of Bombay at three several points, at Hoospett and Hyrryhur on the Toombudra River *en route* from Madras to Darwar and at Darwar itself *en route* from Honore on the Malabar Coast. The mail from India to Ceylon is conveyed to and from that island at the expense of the Madras Government from Point Calimere to Point Pedro in Ceylon, during nine months of the year; but during the monsoon months from Tuticorin to some place on that island to the southward of the Pombum Pass.

13. The control of the department throughout Madras and Bombay extends over the whole of those several Presidencies and the Native States embraced within their respective limits.

14. The Postmaster General at each Presidency is a covenanted civil servant. In Bengal and Bombay he has a fixed salary. In Madras he has a fixed but smaller salary to which is added a commission on receipts.

15. The Deputy Postmasters are of two classes *ex-officio* and salaried. In Bengal the total of both classes is 111. In Madras 24. In Bombay 18. Shewing a grand total of 153 Deputy Postmasters.

The proportion of salaried to *ex-officio* Postmasters in the three Presidencies is shown in the following table:—

Presidency.	<i>Ex-officio.</i>	Salaried.	Total.
Bengal	... 84	27*	111
Madras	... 23	1	24
Bombay	... 15	3†	18
Grand total	... 122	31	153

\* Including a Deputy Post Master, Presidency Office.

† Including an Assistant Post Master, Presidency Office.

16. The *ex-officio* Deputy Postmasters throughout India are Residents, Political Agents, Collectors and Magistrates or their several assistants as the case may be and in some few instances in Madras and Bombay are the Military local staff of stations.

17. The salaried Deputy Postmasters are usually military or medical officers who hold these appointments conjointly with other staff situations but in some few instances they are gentlemen not in the Company's Service. Their salaries are not uniform but vary from Rupees 50 to Rupees 700 per month. Their salaries are severally shown in detail in the annexed statement A but we here subjoin a summary of the same for the three Presidencies respectively :

Presidency.		Number of salaried Deputy Postmasters.	Total annual Cost of the same.
Bengal	...	27*	57,700
Madras	...	1	1,050
Bombay	...	3†	7,000
Grand total		31	66,550

18. In the General Post Office, Bengal, there is a Deputy Postmaster, besides the Postmaster General. In the Madras General Post Office there is no such officer. In the Bombay General Post Office there is an Assistant Postmaster.

19. In Bengal there are 110 Mofussil Post Offices besides which are a great many other stations where letters are both received for despatch and distributed on receipt but of which no return has hitherto been kept in the General Post Office. The Committee has called for a return of the same with their respective receipts and disbursements for one month.

20. In Madras there are 117 Mofussil Post Offices or stations at which Post Office writers are stationed for receipt and delivery of letters.

21. In Bombay there are 49 such offices.

22. The Mofussil offices are by no means regulated in any uniform manner throughout India, either in respect to number of servants or their respective salaries except in the Madras Presidency, where since 1834 these offices have been divided into a certain number of classes to each of which a certain number of servants with a regulated rate of pay and contingent allowance for stationery, etc., are apportioned. The servants are of two descriptions only, writers or Gomastahs and peons, etc. The scale agreeably to which they are paid is shown in the appended statement B. In Bombay although no such

\*Including a Deputy Postmaster, Presidency Office.

†Including an Assistant Postmaster, Presidency Office.



uniform system has been adopted, the establishments are still on a very moderate scale, but we learn that in that Presidency in some instances all the servants employed in the department are not charged to the post office head because the duty of the Post Office has in such cases been thrown upon the establishments of the *ex-officio* Deputy Postmasters, whether Collectors or Residents without any additional servants, and we have accordingly applied for detailed information on this subject. In Bengal the Mofussil offices more especially those of the great military cantonments and Political Residencies are far larger and more expensive than the corresponding establishments in the other Presidencies. No uniformity has been deemed necessary, either in respect to the number or class or salary of the servants employed and if the amount of collection can be considered as in any way affording an estimate of the relative proportion of labour to be performed, very great discrepancies exist in the strength of establishments and cost of contingencies at stations of apparently similar importance. Servants of various descriptions unknown in the other Presidencies appear in the Returns laid before the Committee, Moonshees, Mutsuddees, Chuttee-Reshas, Cash-keepers, Naibs, Sircars, Poddars, Dufturees, Persian Assistants, Hindu Nomeeses, Lallahs, Managers, Assaramees, Packet-markers, Jemadars, Superintendents, Takudars, Shroffs, etc. We certainly know no benefit that can result from servants employed on similar duties being designated in the same department by dissimilar denominations. Such a system inevitably tends towards confusion.

23. We learn that in some mofussil offices in Bengal a double registry of letters is kept one in English and another in Persian but we are not yet aware to what extent this practice prevails. It has of late years been abolished in the General Post Office and we hope we may be enabled hereafter to recommend its entire abolition throughout India.

24. The extent of control exercised by Deputy Postmasters is not regulated by any uniform system throughout India. It is not even uniform in any one Presidency. In some the control of the Deputy Postmaster is limited to a single station. In others it extends over a whole Province with many out post offices. In some places it includes an entire route from one sudder station to another. In others more particularly when held *ex-officio* it terminates with the limits to which the Deputy Postmaster's Revenue or Magisterial or Political powers extend. This latter arrangement is perhaps irremediable, so long as the *ex-officio* system of conducting Post Office details is retained generally on the great routes of India. The mode and the extent of changes we shall propose in this branch of the department will form part of our next report. In the meantime we will only observe that although the supervision of Post Offices at minor stations, on the cross routes and unfrequent-

ed districts where the duties are necessarily limited by such *ex-officio* Deputy Postmasters may be unobjectionable we can conceive no plan more prejudicial to the Government interest or more productive of inconvenience to all parties than the retention of that system on the several Grand Trunk routes as well as at large military stations where the duties so minute yet so necessary are sufficient to occupy daily a fair proportion of the time of any individual.

25. In explanation of this portion of the subject we can not do better than refer to a passage from the Bengal Postmaster's General's Report to the Committee under date 20th June, 1835, paragraphs 7 to 12 *vide* Appendix C.

26. We may also subjoin the following brief passage from the Bombay Acting Postmaster-General's Report to the Committee, dated 9th October, 1835, paragraph 11. "That considerable delay frequently takes place at stations through which Daks pass. I have little doubt Postmasters receive no remuneration for the duties they are called to perform and are frequently absent, as in the case with collectors, following their own more important duties. A *Purvoe*, *i.e.*, a writer, is left in charge who may or may not be anxious to avoid delay.

27. We now proceed to contrast such portions of the regulations at the three Presidencies as more especially respect the public in regard to the receipt and delivery of letters at the Presidency and Mofussil offices respectively together with the modes and rates of conveying the several mails throughout the country and the several scales of inland and sea postage at the three Presidencies on letters, newspapers and parcels. We shall next report how the Banghy Dak is conducted throughout India accompanied by a contrasted statement of the rates of Banghy Postage at the three Presidencies. We shall thence proceed to explain the extent of the Franking privileges in this country and lastly detail the systems under which Dak bearers are posted for travellers at each Presidency.

28. In Bengal letters are not received unless accompanied by a book or slip of paper on which is written the direction of the letter. On this document the Post Office writer notes the weight and postage levied and then adding his initials with a stamp, returns the same to the sender in attestation of its safer receipts.

29. In Madras letters are received whether accompanied by such document or otherwise. If a book or written direction be sent it is stamped and signed in like manner as in Bengal. If such documents be not sent a receipt merely bearing the place of despatch, the date and amount of postage in the following brief form.

"Single to Calcutta"  
"1 Rupee."

The  
Usual Stamp.

is delivered to the sender.

30. In Bengal letters are not received unless accompanied by a memorandum containing the name or alleged name of the sender for registry with the direction of the letter.

31. In Madras, a similar practice formerly existed and as respects Native letters it was specially enjoined by Regulation dated March 9th, 1833, that they should not be received without the name and residence of the writer being superscribed on the same. This practice was considered by the Madras Committee of 1833-34 to be "objectionable" and abolished.

32. As respects the Bombay Presidency we are not yet informed on either of the two last points.

33. Letters once received at any Post Office are not returned except on official application. The postage is however in such case not returned.

34. The Post Office Department does not knowingly receive for transmission articles of value, and although every due care and precaution is taken to secure the safe conveyance of all packets whether by Dak or Banghy, it is not responsible for any inquiry or loss occasioned by accident or fraud.

35. Packets containing Company's paper when sent by post may be entered in a register kept for that purpose at each General Post Office in order that should the same be lost, payment may be stopped and fresh paper delivered to the parties.

36. In Bengal, all such packets may be received daily, Sundays excepted from 10 till 3—at Madras from 11 till 2—at Bombay from 10 till 5.

37. Individuals are not compelled to receive a letter to their address, but if they open the same they are bound to pay the postage marked on it, whatever it may be, at the period of delivery. If there be a mistake, it is rectified by a reference to the Postmaster General or his Deputy.

38. If payment be refused, all future letters to the address of the party are withheld until the demand is liquidated.

39. When too many packets are received for despatch at once, a certain number of public despatches, books or newspapers are kept back for the following day. Private letters however are in no instance detained. In Bombay, moreover, letters from the Government, Secretariat, or Adjutant or Quarter-Master General are never kept back.

40. The receipt and delivery of letters at outstations throughout India are not regulated by any uniform system, nor are the packets made up for despatch from such stations agreeably to any fixed rule.

41. In Bengal, there is no specific rule for opening or closing mofussil offices, but an understanding exists that they are open for receipt at 10 A.M. Deliveries of letters are regulated by local authorities. It is the duty of Deputy Postmasters to have their packets closed in time for the arrival of the

mail to carry them on, the hour of which is or ought to be well-known to all the Society.

42. In Madras the hour at which a mofussil office opens as well as that for the delivery of letters is regulated by the local authorities, usually with reference to the hours at which the several mails arrive. But in order to prevent delay to the Dawks as well as to prevent the post-office writers being subjected to unnecessary labour letters are not received at any mofussil office, except on "emergent service" to be certified to the Postmaster General, after 5 P.M. at which hour the packets are closed and made up for all mails likely to pass during the night.

43. In Bombay, the receipt and delivery of letters appear in like manner to be regulated by local authorities and with respect to the despatch of the packets from mofussil stations except Poonah where there is a fixed hour 5 P.M. The Postmaster-General states "his belief that it is the practice to have the packet in readiness to be closed when the Dawk arrives, which is to carry it on" but he adds, he has no doubt that considerable delay very frequently occurs in consequence of *ex-officio* Deputy Postmasters having other matters of more importance to attend to and the details of the office being thus left to the care of a writer, who may or may not be active.

44. At Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, letters are received at certain out-offices for despatch at a regulated hour to the General Post Office. In Calcutta there are four of these offices, in Madras two, in Bombay one; in Calcutta and Bombay no extra charge is made beyond the regular postage. At Madras half-an-anna extra is levied on each letter from the out-office at Bombay (Bycullah) letters are also delivered at the other Presidencies the delivery of letters is restricted to the General Post Office only.

45. In Madras, it is the duty of commandants and staff of stations to see that all letters to military persons are duly delivered. It is also the duty of commandants of corps to send a Drummer and Sepoy daily to the Post Office for the letters for the men of his corps, and to cause them to be duly distributed. This system saves the department much vexatious trouble. It does not appear to be enjoined at the other Presidencies.

46. The hours between which letters and papers and Banghy Parcels, are respectively received at the Post Office differs in each Presidency, as explained below.

Hours for receipt of Letters at the General Post Office of the three Presidencies respectively :

Place.	Letters.	Newspapers.	Bunghy Parcels except on Sunday.
Bengal ...	From 10 to 6½	10 to 5½	10 to 5½ (1)
Madras ...	11 to 6	11 to 3	11 to 2 (2)
Bombay ...	10 to 5	10 to 5	—

(1) But only till 3 P.M. on day of despatch.

(2) But only till 12 P.M. on day of despatch.

47. In Bengal and Madras, however, letters are received after the above hours till 6 $\frac{3}{4}$  on payment of a fine. In Bengal such fine is treble postage. In Madras it is one rupee in addition to the regulated postage.

48. The hours for delivery of letters from the General Post Office differ at each Presidency.

49. In Bengal, there are always two deliveries daily, but these are not regular. The first delivery is not before 10 A.M. The second is usually regulated by the arrival of the several Mails during the day, and it occasionally happens, when several English ships arrive together, as many as five or six deliveries take place in the same day.

50. At Madras there are two regular deliveries daily at 8 A.M. and 4 P.M.

51. In Bombay letters are delivered irregularly from 10 till 5.

52. The hour up to which Mails from the mofussil received at the General Post Office, are opened on the day of receipt differs in each Presidency. In Bengal it is 3 P.M. In Madras 4 P.M. In Bombay 5 P.M. Mails received after the above hour are not opened before the following morning, as the writers are employed in registering letters received for despatch. When a Mail is opened all its contents are distributed the same day, whether for delivery at the Presidency itself or for further transmission by Dawk. Europe Mails unless received very late at night, are always opened on receipt, and delivery made immediately the contents are registered to persons sending for the same.

53. The hour of despatching the Mails from the General Post Office, is not the same at the three Presidencies. In Bengal and Madras they are despatched at 8 P.M. In Bombay at 6 P.M.

54. At Madras there is moreover a second despatch daily to St. Thomas Mount, the artillery head quarters, 8 miles distant, at 11 A.M.

55. In Bengal, the Mails are despatched on 6 different routes, in Madras on 5, in Bombay on 4.

In Bengal the six routes are:—

1. To Barrackpore, Benares, Allahabad, Cawnpore, Allyghur, where it divides one branch going to Delhi, Kurnaul and Loodianah, the other to Meerut and Landour. This route is the great Dawk route to Upper and Central India, and has branches, east and west, to Agra, Patna, Goruckpore, Lucknow, Nepal, Gualior, Neemuch, Mhow and all the principal stations of upper Hindostan and Central India.
2. To Berhampore, Maldah, Dinajpore, Rungpore, and Assam with a branch to Bhaugulpore and Monghyr.
3. To Dumdum, Baraset, Jessore, Dacca, Chittagong and Arracan.
4. To Kedgerree.

5. To Dinapore, Sumbalpoore, Nagpore, Ayrungabad, to Poonah and Bombay with branches North and South from Nagpore, *vide* routes 2. Madras and 1. Bombay.
6. To Jelasore, Balasore, Cuttack, Poree to Ganjam, Bezoarah, Madras, and Ceylon with branches east and west from Bezoarah, *vide* route 1. Madras.
57. A Banghy also travels on each of the above roads save No. 5 where it only proceeds as far as Nagpore..
58. In Madras the five routes are :—
  1. To Nellore, Guntoor, Bezoarah, Vizagapattam, Ganjam, and Calcutta with a branch from Bezoarah east to Masulipatam and west to Hyderabad.
  2. To Ponamalle, Cuddapah, Gooty, Bellary and Darwar and by a branch to Kurnool, Hyderabad, Nagpore and Allahabad.
  3. To Poonamally, Arcot, Bangalore, Seringapatam, Cannanore, Telli-cherry and Mangalore and by a branch from Bangalore to Hurryhur, Darwar, Poonah, and Bombay and branches from Mysore north-west to Mangalore and south-west to the Neelgheries and Callicut.
  4. To Conjeveram, Arcot, Vellore, Salem, Avanashy, Ootacamund, and from Avanashy to Coimbatore, Paulghautcherry and Callicut.
  5. To St. Thomas Mount, Chingleput, Tindavanum, Trichinopoly, Madras, Palamcotta and Travancore. On this road a Dawk Banghy runs as far as Tindeveram, and thence to Pondichery, Cuddalore, Sheally, Negapattam and Ceylon branching from Sheally also to Tanjore and Trichinopoly.
59. The Dawk Banghy differs from the ordinary Banghy to be hereafter described, as it conveys the letter mail as well as parcels. It is peculiar to this one route.
60. The Banghy is confined to routes No. 1, to Calcutta and No. 3 as far as Cannanore.
61. There was formerly a Banghy to the Neelgherry Hills but it was abolished in 1834, as its receipts did not cover its cost.
62. In Bombay, the four routes are :—
  1. To Panwell and Poonah, where it divides, one branch going *via* Ahmednuggar, Arungabad to Calcutta, the other *via* Sittarah, Belgaum, Darwar, Hurryhur and Madras with a branch east to Shollapore and Hyderabad, another from Belgaum west to Vingorla on the coast north of Goa and a third from Darwar to

Honore and Mangalore on the coast south of Goa, and a fourth east to Bellary.

2. To Tannah, Nassik, Mulligaum, Mhow, and Central and Upper India.
3. To Surat, Broach, Baroda, Kaira, Ahmedabad, Deesa, Pahlunpore and Serowee with branch Dawks from Baroda to Mhow, and from Kaira to Rajkot and Cutch.
4. To Panwell, Dapoollee, Rutnagherry and Vingorla.
63. There is no separate Banghy establishment under the Bombay Presidency.
64. The Dawks on the above several great routes travel direct throughout their whole extent without stoppage and independent of each other, with exception of the following.
65. The great western mail from Cannanore, Madras Presidency route No. 3, to Madras, is detained at Bangalore to await the passing of that from Bombay.
66. The Bengal and Madras Mails *en route* to Bombay, are each detained daily at Poonah, let them arrive at what hour they may, till 5 P.M. when both are conveyed together to Bombay, there being but one conveyance by contract between Poonah and Bombay. The mails from Bombay to Bengal and Madras are not however subjected to any similar detention at Poonah.
67. The Cross Dawks await the passing of the several great mails at their respective points of junction, and are by them taken up and brought on.
68. In Bengal and Madras the mails are first wrapped in paper, and then in wax cloth throughout the year, and double wax cloth during the rains. In Bombay they are packed in coarse Dungaree cloth in fine weather, and in wax cloth only during the rains by which system the Postmaster General, Bombay reports a material saving has been effected.
69. Throughout India, each packet when closed is carefully sealed.
70. In Bengal and Madras the packets are put into leather wallets. In Bombay they are packed in a coarse hempen bag for despatch by the mail cart to Poonah, and on the other roads they are placed in bags of Dungaree covered with wax cloth.
71. The Bengal wallet is of a superior description both in respect to model and manufacture. In shape it resembles a soldier knapsacks, and is composed of very well-tanned double leather, laced up and folded over at top, fastened by buckles and straps and secured by 3 seals. It is however doubtful whether any substance except metal would be perfectly proof against exposure to weather and the friction a wallet must experience from the back of a runner and Mr. Elliot states, that the wallets now in use in Bengal have been immersed in

water for 12 hours without their contents sustaining such enquiry, as they have subsequently received on a lengthened exposure to heavy rain on the road. The Bengal wallet weighs about 5 lbs.

72. The Madras wallet is considerably larger than that of Bengal, and is merely a strong leathern bag secured by a single strap and seal. It is lighter than the Bengal wallet being under 4 lbs. in weight and is more simple and more easily packed. It does not seem however to afford so thorough a protection against wet as that of Bengal.

73. The Bombay mail bag is as above stated of Dungaree and wax cloth and appears of very simple construction.

74. There are three separate and distinct systems adopted for the conveyance of the mails by land both Dawk and Banghy in India. Firstly by contract on the principle of payment proportioned to accelerated or diminished speed, secondly by Government establishments of men on fixed and permanent monthly pay without reference to rates of travelling. Thirdly by Government establishments of men on a monthly pay which is increased if the rate of travelling exceeds a certain standard of speed.

75. The first system prevails partially in Bengal and Bombay.

76. In Bengal, from Calcutta on route 4, Kedgerree to its extremity 61 miles, on routes 5 and 6, 1,032 miles on the one and 341 on the latter, *viz.*, to the boundary of the Bengal territory on each, on route 1 to Kurnaul 974 miles and Meerut 893 miles and also by branch Dawks to Goruckpore and Agra which last has been recently extended to Gualior and Sehore. On route from Upper India to Mhow and Bombay on route 2 to Rungpur 309 miles and Bhaugulpore 277 miles and on route 3 to Chittagong 353 miles.

77. In Bombay it is confined to the route from Poonah to Bombay 72 miles by land and 24 by water, total 96 miles.

78. In both Presidencies the contract system on its present footing is of recent introduction; for some period however prior to its institution, the mail from Calcutta to Benares had been conveyed by contract in ekkas, a small wheeled conveyance and from Allahabad to Allyghur by a horse contract, but the system was not found to answer. The ekkas failed entirely in the rains and Mr. Elliot states the rates of contract were not sufficiently liberal. It was accordingly abandoned.

79. In 1830 the existing contract plan was established in Bengal by the Hon'ble Mr. Elliot. By this system, a route is divided into distances of various lengths each division terminating at some sudder station, so that the reports of arrival and departure are checked by an European authority, each contractor makes his own bargain for remuneration, and simply specifies the mode in which he purposes to fulfil his contract and reports to the Postmaster General



any change in his system he may find it expedient to adopt. He carries the mails as he pleases, and no muster of his people or interference with his arrangements is permitted. All that is required from him is to deliver the mails at the time contracted for whatever that rate may be. For every half mile an hour gained in speed, he receives an increased allowance calculated by a graduated scale of a certain number of annas per rupee and for every half mile lost he forfeits a portion of his contract allowance, calculated on a similar scale. The rate contracted for is by no means uniform but varies according to circumstances. The maximum rate is  $5\frac{1}{2}$  miles an hour, the minimum 3D but this low rate prevails only for a short distance *en route* to Bombay.  $4\frac{1}{2}$  or 5 miles per hour may be stated as the usual contract rate. The mail contractors agree for both Dawk and Banghy, the latter of course at less speed than the former, and although the details of the latter contracts are somewhat different, their principles are materially the same.

80. The results of this system in respect to speed have proved most beneficial, as will appear by the annexed contrasted statement D of the rate of travelling on the principal roads of Bengal in 1825 and 1835 respectively, from which it appears that on an average of the several routes the speed has been increased full 50 per cent. or  $1\frac{1}{2}$  mile an hour, the rate in 1825 averaging 3 miles an hour, that for 1835,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  miles an hour including stoppages.

81. It must not however be concealed that this increased speed has been purchased at considerable cost. A contrasted statement of the respective expenses in annexed E from which it appears that the contract system has exceeded, by about 70 per cent., the Government establishments it replaced, namely, cost of Government establishments for 12 months, 101,319=Co. Rs. 1,05,878-5-7. The cost of 35 contracts for 12 months, 172,922=Co. Rs. 1,80,703-7-9; excess cost of contract system, S. Rs. 71,603=Co. Rs. 74,825-2-2.

82. In Bombay, the only existing contract is to Poonah 96 miles. The terms are 6 miles an hour in fair weather and 5 miles in the rains. The mails are conveyed, as far as they go by land, in a wheeled carriage, which the contractor is bound to make suitable for the conveyance of one passenger along with the mails. The contract was originally established in 1831, from Poonah to Panwell 72 miles by land. It has recently been extended to Bombay 24 miles by water.

83. The cost of this contract per annum is as follows:—Land carriage Rupees 12,000; Water Carriage Rupees 5,740; total for 96 miles Rupees 17,740.

84. We should here state that at Madras in 1833 enquiries were preferred by a Committee as to the expediency or otherwise of substituting contracts for Government establishments throughout that Presidency as a means of expedit-

ing the conveyance of the mails. The opinions of the local district authorities not being however in general favourable to the practicability of the measure, the plan was eventually abandoned.

85. The second system or that by which the entire Post Office Department throughout India was formerly conducted, still prevails in Bengal, on all routes beyond the termination of the several contracts except in the Oude province, and throughout the Madras and Bombay Presidencies except from Bombay to Poonah.

86. This system consists in sets of men, in Government pay, being stationed at certain fixed stages along the line of route by which the mails are conveyed. The system is not however uniform, save that the salaries of the men are fixed without reference to speed. The rates of pay are different, the rates of travelling are different, the distances of stages are different, the mode of conveying the mail is different, the mode of supervision is different and lastly the weight carried by them is regulated by different standards.

87. In Bengal, the ordinary pay of a Dawk runner is rupees 4, of an overseer 6. In Madras the pay of a runner varies from rupees 4 to 7, that of the overseers reduced in 1834, varied from rupees 6 to 10. In Bombay, the pay of a runner is from rupees  $4\frac{3}{4}$  to 7 and that of an overseer from rupees 7 to 12 per month.

88. In Bengal the rate of travelling on routes under this system does not exceed four miles an hour, while the general rate is very materially lower. In Madras the rate varies from  $4\frac{1}{2}$  to 4 miles per hour. In Bombay from  $3\frac{3}{4}$  to  $2\frac{1}{8}$  miles per hour a rate in fact, which is often slower than that of the Banghy in Bengal under the contract system, but in that Presidency it must be remembered there is no Banghy for the conveyance of the heavier Government despatches.

89. In Bengal the length of stages varies from 6 to 11 miles agreeably to local circumstances.

90. In Madras, the length of stages on the great routes varies from 6 to 7 or even 8 miles; occasionally and on the small cross routes from 10 to 11 miles.

91. In Bombay, the stages vary from 8 to 10 miles.

92. In Bengal, the runners only carry the mail *one way*, up or down as the case may be.

93. In Madras and Bombay, they convey the mail both *ways* running regularly *up* one day and *down* the next.

94. In Bengal, the runners are generally, and in Bombay, occasionally supervised by persons called Uddadars or Overseers, whose duty it is to superintend the rate of travelling, to see that the men are at their posts, and to pay them their wages, but they do not appear to be employed on any fixed or uni-

form scale, with reference either to extent of route, or the number of runners each may have to supervise. The Committee have requested the opinion of local officers as to the expediency of retaining these servants.

95. In Madras, Overseers were in like manner employed until 1834, when they were discharged, to the number of seventy-three (73) at the recommendation of the Madras Post Office Committee, by which a saving of Rupees 8,000 per annum was effected. Only 4 Overseers are now retained in the Madras Presidency. The Committee have preferred enquiries respecting the results of this measure.

96. In Bengal, the maximum load allowed by Regulation for each Runner is 8 seers or 16-lbs. *i.e.*, 11-lbs. exclusive of the wallet, but in cases of emergency wallets are occasionally made up to a weight of 22-lbs. or even 28-lbs.

97. In Madras, the maximum load allowed by Regulation for each Runner is 18-lbs., or 14-lbs. exclusive of the wallet. But this Regulation is not attended to, for the return of weight actually carried in July last, furnished by the Postmaster General, shows that, on the Dawks of that month, on three out of the five great routes from Madras, the average for the entire month was in excess of that weight, that on many days the loads were materially in excess of that weight and that even as much as 40-lbs. have been carried by a single Runner.

98. In Bombay, the weight to be carried by a Dak Runner is not fixed by any Regulation, but from the returns of weight actually carried in July last, the average appears to be 12-lbs., but it is frequently in excess of 18-lbs., and as much as 50-lbs. have been even carried by a single Runner, while it must be borne in mind that the cloth bag or wallet itself in which such packets are conveyed, is very inconsiderable.

99. The third system is confined to the province of Oude, and has only been established since the year 1831. The Runners receive a fixed pay of Rupees 4 per mensem and the Overseer Rupees 6 per mensem, but should the average rate of speed during the month exceed or equal 5 miles an hour, each Runner receives 8 annas and each Overseer a Rupee extra, being an increase of about  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. but they never receive any further reward than this, let the increased speed of travelling be what it may, while on the other hand they are mulcted for unnecessary delays. The average rate of travelling in the Oude province did not exceed  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles an hour until the year 1830, when it had improved to about 4 miles an hour. The subjoined statement F of the rate travelled during six months from April to October 1835, shows an average monthly speed from  $4\frac{1}{8}$  up to  $6\frac{1}{2}$  miles an hour, a result which may justly be stated as no less surprising than satisfactory and which reflects high credit on Captain Paton, the Assistant Resident at Lucknow to whom Government is in-

debted for the original plan, as also for having superintended its establishment and success.

100. The extra cost of this system is very moderate; under no circumstances can it increase the expenditure more than  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., and yet we are not aware that a higher rate of speed has been attained in India for any lengthened distance, than under its operation.

101. In Bengal, all the mails whether on main routes or cross roads are despatched daily.

102. In Madras and Bombay, one or two small cross mails are despatched only twice or thrice a week.

103. There are three places where the mail is conveyed for some distance by water.

First.—Throughout Assam, along the Eastern Frontier of Bengal, where it is conveyed by canoes, as a great portion of that province is inundated throughout the year or intersected with numerous large streams.

Secondly.—From Panwell to Bombay, a distance of 24 miles, down a river and across an arm of sea. It is conveyed partly on canoes, and partly in stout boats. This work is now performed by contract.

Lastly.—From Kedgerie to Calcutta, 61 miles, although there is a land post from Kedgerie, the same would be insufficient to convey the numerous and weighty packages received from Europe. For this purpose an efficient establishment of Boats is maintained at Kedgerie, one of which boards every vessel on arrival, and receiving from it the box, packets, etc., brings the same up to Calcutta.

104. In the Madras Presidency, letters are conveyed, on such routes as the mail does not travel, by a system which promotes the public convenience and also increases the revenue. In every district daily communications pass between the Revenue and Magisterial Officers and their respective subordinates throughout the province, and these are conveyed principally by the village or district peons. It was well-known that these peons conveyed private letters, and it was thus thought by the Madras Committee in 1833-34 that their services might be brought to account by legalizing such conveyance, on payment of postage. Accordingly letters may now be received by any Revenue Officer throughout the country, at the regulated rates of postage, and forwarded by means of the Collector's Dawk to the nearest Post Office. The accounts are kept by the Cutcherry servants of the Collector, and the amount received credited by that officer monthly in one item, as received from District Tappalls. It would not appear from the returns before the Committee that the system has been uniformly adopted throughout that Presidency, but in some districts the receipts are considerable.

105. When the exigencies of the public service demand unusual despatch, it is the practice at all the three Presidencies to send letters by "Express." As however no separate establishment is retained for this purpose public officers are enjoined to use Express as sparingly as possible, in order not to interfere with the transit of the regular mails. In Madras indeed, if any public officer forwards a despatch "Express" and it should appear that the exigency of the service did not require such conveyance he is liable to be made to pay for the same at the rate of 2 annas a mile, for the whole distance. At Madras General Post Office, the Postmaster General is enjoined not to forward an Express without special instructions from the Chief Secretary to Government.

106. In Bengal, private individuals may have the privilege of an express, on payment for the same at 4 annas a mile, they are not however of frequent occurrence anywhere, but are occasionally employed between Calcutta and Kedgerree.

107. The time occupied by the two last Expresses from Madras to Calcutta was 7 days 13 hours and 7 days 16 $\frac{3}{4}$  hours respectively, which shows a rate of travelling including stoppages, of rather more than 5 miles 6 furlongs per hour.

108. The rate of an Express from Bombay to Calcutta is not quite equal to this, but the time, occupied by the last Express, was only 10 days 22 $\frac{1}{2}$  hours, which shows a rate of travelling, including stoppages of rather more than 5 miles 3 furlongs per hour.

109. The opening of mails between stations is inhibited except on urgent occasions which must be reported to the Postmaster General, as well as to the nearest office to which the mails are in transit.

110. In Bengal and Madras, the Postmaster General sends the packets duly made up direct on board the vessel about to sail, and takes a receipt for the same from the Commander. He in like manner receives all packets brought by ship direct from the vessel.

111. In Bombay all such packets are forwarded, through the Superintendent of the Indian Navy, whether to or from any vessel.

112. At Madras and Bombay, when packets are open for despatch by sea, the same is notified to the public in the Gazettee, as also by a notice at the Post Office.

113. At Madras and Bombay, it is also notified in the Gazette, by what vessels letters received between the several dates specified have been despatched. No similar convenience is adopted in Bengal, beyond the return of the Che-launs to the Mofussil offices on which are marked the vessel by which such letters will be despatched.

114. In Bengal and Madras, parcels imported are forwarded immediate-

ly by Banghy. In Bombay, there being no Banghy, such parcels are not forwarded by post, except under special instructions. The Postmaster General notifies periodically in the Gazette, a list of parcels received and remaining at the Post Office.

115. In Bombay, the Superintendent of the Indian Navy notifies to the Postmaster General the arrival of vessels from Europe, and intended departure of vessels to all parts of the world, and further furnishes weekly a list of all ships in the Harbour whose destination is known, with the probable period of departure.

116. We now proceed to the levying of postage throughout India.

117. Inland postage levied on all letters throughout India, which are not franked by some competent public officer, or addressed to certain specified authorities. But the rates of postage, the principles on which, under certain circumstances, it is calculated, and the mode in which it is levied, vary most materially in the three Presidencies.

118. *First* as respects the rates of postage.

119. The rates of inland letter postage are different at each Presidency, as shown in the annexed Schedule G in which the rates are shown as now existing, and as they were severally in 1828.

120. The general average rate of the Bombay scale up to 1,500 miles may be briefly stated at about 30 per cent. above Bengal, and 8 above Madras, while the Madras scale, reduced 15 per cent. from April 1834, is still about 21 per cent. above the Bengal standard. The data and calculations, on which these averages are assumed, are annexed in Statement H.

121. In Bengal, the minimum postage is 2 annas for 50 miles and advances to a maximum of annas 20 for 2,300 miles.

122. In Madras, the minimum postage is 1 anna for 15 miles, and advances to a maximum of annas 16 for all distances beyond 1,000 miles.

123. In Bombay the minimum postage is 2 annas for 30 miles and increases to 8 annas for 300 miles, and an anna extra for every additional hundred miles, but letters not exceeding half Sicca weight are considered half letters, and liable only to half single postage.

124. Throughout India, Law Papers, Registers, Accounts, Vouchers, etc. attested as such by the full signature of the party sending them, and as not containing any other writing, are permitted to be sent by Post at lower rates, with reference to their weight, than ordinary letters. But the regulation is not uniform.

125. Any breach of the above stipulations subjects the parties offending to a heavy penalty, which penalty is uniform throughout India.

126. In Bengal and Madras, on all such papers etc., single postage is charged for every three Sicca weight, in the former up to 21 Sicca, in the latter to 15 Sicca.

127. In Bombay single postage is charged for every 4 Sicca weight up to 25 Siccas.

128. We must here note the several changes in the rate throughout India of letter postage since 1828.

129. In Bengal, in that year, the rates of letter Postage were as per margin.\* In 1829 a new scale was experimentally introduced, which on distances up to 500 miles was estimated at a reduction of about  $\frac{1}{3}$ , but

Miles	Annas
*50	2
125	3
150	3½
175	4
200	4½
300	6
400	7½
500	9
600	10½
700	12
800	13½
900	15
1000	16½
1100	18
1200	19½
1300	21
1400	22½
1500	24

†30	2
60	3
90	4
120	5
150	6
180	7
210	8
250	9
300	10
400	11
500	12
600	13
700	14
800	15
900	16
1000	17
1100	18
1200	19
1300	20
1400	21
1500	22

beyond that distance the reduction was gradually augmented, until at 1,000 miles and upwards, the scale was only half of the former rates the principle of which was to relieve Residents at great distances from the very heavy charges to which they had been subjected. Letters at half Sicca weight were also received at half single postage. In 6 months the collections had fallen off by about  $\frac{1}{3}$ . This was principally attributed to half weight letters, the rule respecting which was accordingly abolished. The deficit in the following 6 months was reduced from  $\frac{1}{3}$  to about  $\frac{1}{4}$ . In 1830 a revised scale, still calculated on the principle of affording relief to persons at great distances, was introduced and is still in force.

130. In Madras. The rates of letter postage in 1828 were as per margin.† In the year 1833-34 a committee was appointed at Madras to enquire into these rates, and other matters connected with the Post Office; and on their report a revised rate, reduced about 15 per cent. below the then scale, was introduced from April 1834, and is that now in force.

131. The result of this arrangement is satisfactory, for although the reduced scale was estimated at 15 per cent. below the existing rates, or Rs. 40,000 on the collections of 1832-33, the actual falling off in receipts for 1834-35 has been only Rs. 212-11-3 or less than 2½ per cent. on the collections of 1832-33.

132. It should however be added that that committee revised and abolished certain franking privileges, and as the number of Public or Service and free letters has since diminished by several thousands, it is probable this arrangement may have materially affected the receipts.

133. In Bombay, the existing rates of letter Postage are, with exception of the half letter rate, the same as were in force in 1828. On the 6th May, 1831, the half letter rate was established. On the 5th February 1834, these Regulations were superseded by a revised scale, which was framed, on the principle of one sheet of common letter paper being esteemed a single, two a double, and half a sheet only a half letter above 1 Sicca weight, postage was increased by half Siccas instead of by entire Siccas. A distinction was however made in respect to Native letters, when not written on English paper or folded in the English form. They were charged at the following increased rates.

Under  $\frac{1}{4}$  Sicca.—Half letter postage.

From  $\frac{1}{4}$  to  $\frac{1}{2}$  Sicca.—Single postage.

„  $\frac{1}{2}$  to Sicca.—Double.

after which single postage was added for every half Sicca weight.

134. The whole of this Regulation was rescinded 4th March 1835 by order of the Supreme Government, which declared that weight was the principle on which postage should be levied, and the rates, existing previous to 1834, were accordingly re-established.

135. The introduction of the half letter system caused a diminution of about 13 per cent. in the collections of 1831-32 and combined with the reduction in newspaper postage in June 1832 had still further increased that reduction in 1832-33 to about 21 per cent. In the year 1833-34, various orders respecting the privilege of franking, and directing the increased rate of postage, by  $\frac{1}{2}$  instead of whole Siccas, were enacted, and the receipts increased to very nearly those of 1831-32 while in the following year, owing to the full operation of the above alterations, and a revised rate of newspaper postage, they had increased to about 17 per cent. above those of 1830-31.

136. In Bengal letters and parcels are not received at the General Post Office for delivery in Calcutta itself.

137. In Madras letters not exceeding 10 Sicca weight, are received at the General Post Office, for delivery at the Presidency, at postage of 1 anna, and Parcels are received for delivery in like manner, up to 100 Sicca weight, at a charge of 2 annas.

138. In Bombay neither letters nor parcels are received at the General Post Office, nor at its Branch Post Office, Bycullah, for distribution on the Island of Bombay.



139. Throughout India the weight allowed for a single letter is 1 Sicca weight and single postage is added for every additional Sicca weight up to 21 Sicca in Bengal, 36 Sicca in Madras, and 25 Sicca in Bombay, beyond which weights respectively, letters are not received for despatch by the Letter Dak, but are sent by Banghy and charged for as Parcels.

140. In Bengal public letters are received by Dawk up to 25 Siccas only. But in Bombay, the rule is of necessity departed from in the case of Government despatches, as there is no Banghy by which they may be sent.

141. In Bengal and Madras, ship postage is levied on all letters received or sent by sea. At the former, the rate is 3 annas. At the latter 4 annas for a single letter.

*N. B.*—The postage on letters sent by sea from Madras has only been imposed from the 1st of December last.

142. In Bengal, all letters received by sea are burthened with an additional land postage from Kedgerree, at the rate of 3 annas for a single letter delivered in Calcutta. Such as are forwarded to the Mofussil are charged land postage direct from Kedgerree. But to stations beyond Cawnpore, no higher postage is charged than to that station. Thus 13 annas\* is the maximum postage levied anywhere in Bengal on a single letter imported by sea at Calcutta.

143. It is to be observed that this principle does not extend to letters landed at the other Presidencies, and thence transmitted to Bengal stations.

144. Letters received in Bengal, which have been landed at Madras or Bombay, or which are despatched from Bengal for shipment at those Presidencies, pay half the Bengal ship postage, in addition to the inland postage to which they are respectively liable, but letters similarly received at Madras, overland from the other Presidencies, are subjected to the full Madras ship postage in addition to the inland postage.

145. All letters sent for despatch by vessels that have dropped down the river below Cooly Bazar at Calcutta, are also charged land postage to Kedgerree over and above ship postage.

146. At Bombay ship postage at the rate of 2 annas per single letter, and increasing at the rate of 2 annas for each additional Sicca weight up to 21 Sicca weight was imposed on the 19th March 1830, but was taken off again 25th October 1831 and ship postage is not now levied at that Presidency on letters, papers, or parcels received or sent by sea.

147. At Bombay letters received from sea are neither numbered,

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\* Sea Postage 3 annas; Inland Postage 10 annas, total 13 annas.

registered nor stamped, but those received for despatch to Europe are registered.

148. The weight allowed for a single letter exported or imported by sea both in Bengal and Madras is 1 Sicca. But the increase of postage on letters above that weight is not regulated on exactly the same system.

149. In Bengal, letters *exported* are subjected to sea postage as per annexed Scale I gradually increasing to a maximum charge of Rs. 3-8 and a maximum weight of 21 Sicca weight, beyond which packets of letters are charged as parcels.

150. Letters *imported* for Calcutta are subjected to the same Sea Postage as when exported.

151. Letters *imported* for transmission to the interior are subjected to the above rates, only as far as a maximum charge of Rs. 1-6, and a maximum weight of 8 Siccas, beyond which they are charged as parcels and despatched by Banghy. Thus a letter weighing 20 Sicca weight despatched from Cawnpore to Calcutta for shipment to Europe would be charged :

Ship Postage, Rs. 3 As. 6; Inland Postage, Rs. 12 As. 8; total Rs. 15 As. 14.

A similar letter imported and despatched to Cawnpore would be charged Ship Postage, Re. 1; Inland Postage, Rs. 2 As. 4; total Rs. 3 As. 4.

Difference between the charge for *Exported* and *Imported* Letter Rs. 12-10.

152. In Bengal, Law Papers, Accounts, Vouchers, etc., are subjected to a third of the above rates as far as 21 Siccas, above which they are also classed as parcels and charged accordingly.

153. At Madras, the rate for letters either on *Import* or *Export* is increased by single postage regularly for each additional Sicca weight as far as 15 Sicca weight, beyond which a ship letter is considered a packet and charged 4 rupees. Law Papers, Accounts, Vouchers, etc., are subjected to half these rates of ship postage up to 15 sicca weight, but above that weight they are also charged as a Packet, Rupees 4.

154. In Bengal, the ship postage rates for parcels are shown in the annexed Statement K, the minimum rate is 8 annas, from 8 to 12 sicca weight, and increases to maximum of Rs. 5-8 for 300 sicca weight and upwards.

155. In Madras, Parcels received by sea are subjected to a charge of 2 annas each, when delivered by the Distributing Peons, but not otherwise.

156. In Bombay, no postage is levied on Ship parcels.

157. Houses of Agency frequently open letter bags at their respective offices, for receipt of letters, papers, etc., and despatch the same on board to the care of the Commander, by which the payment of ship postage, leviable at Bengal and Madras on exported letters, is evaded.

158. Transfer postage is peculiar to Bengal. It is  $\frac{1}{2}$  an anna extra sea postage, which is levied on all letters from Europe, transhipped at Madras or elsewhere for more speedy conveyance to Calcutta. This  $\frac{1}{2}$  anna is paid as Bounty Money to the Commander who brings the letters to Calcutta. The regulated Bounty being paid besides to the Commander who brings the same from Europe.

159. Letters received or sent by any steamer to and from the Red Sea, were originally subjected to a Ship postage of 4 Rupees for a single letter, in addition to Inland Postage. This rate was reduced in 1833, to Rupee 1 for a single letter in addition to Inland Postage and which is that now in force.\*

160. Secondly as respects the principles on which postage is calculated.

161. In Bengal and Madras when letters are despatched from any one station to another, postage is levied not accordingly to the direct distance between them, but according to the distance however circuitous such letter may happen to be conveyed. Thus from Cuddalore to Annec the actual distance is 80 miles but a letter between those stations is conveyed *via* Madras, and travels 213 miles; postage is therefore charged annas 7 for 213 miles in lieu of annas 4 for 80 miles.

162. In Bombay, Postage is charged according to the direct distance between stations, however circuitous the route by which the letter may be conveyed.

163. Should a letter follow a party from station to station, the principle of levying extra postage is not uniform. In Bengal and Bombay, postage is charged at each station as though a fresh despatch. Thus if a letter, addressed to Poonah 96 miles, follow a person to Ahmednuggur 80 more, and thence to Belgaum miles 270, total 446 miles postage is charged first, for 96 miles 4 annas, then for 80 miles 4 annas, and lastly for 270 miles 8 annas, total 16 annas, whereas agreeably to the Madras practice, and at the same rate of postage, postage would be only charged for the distance travelled 446 miles, 10 annas.

164. Thirdly, as to the mode of levying postage.

165. In Bengal, *full postage must* be paid in advance on all English letters, but native letters, addressed to natives only, may be sent on payment of *half* postage in advance, the remainder being recovered from the Receiver.

166. Letters delivered into chowkies or stations where there is no Deputy Post Master are, however, only received "Bearing" and as letters for despatch

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\* Steam Postage: note:—From the 2nd instant by order of Bombay Government letters from Cairo only pay half Steam postage and those from Jeddah and other places in the Red sea to one third of the same.

to Europe are necessarily required to be paid in full in advance, such letters are only permitted to be received at the office of a Deputy Postmaster.

167. In Madras and Bombay, it is optional with all parties European or Native, writing to places within the limits of their respective Presidencies, to send their letters either "post paid" or "bearing" except when they forward letters for despatch by sea, in which case, as also when addressing persons beyond their own Presidency, postage must be paid in advance, if not for the entire distance, at least to the boundary line.

168. Letters between Bengal and Bombay respectively, *must* be paid for the whole distance agreeably to the rates of the Post Office despatching the same.

169. Letters between Bengal and Madras or Madras and Bombay, may be paid for the entire distance, or only to the boundary line, except in the instance from Madras to Nagpore at the option of the parties.

170. If to the boundary line only, the balance of postage to be recovered from the receiver is levied on very dissimilar principles at Madras, from what is practised in Bengal and Bombay. In the two latter Presidencies, a letter so sent, is considered as two distinct despatches, and is charged afresh from the boundary line, the effect of which is to levy a much higher import than is chargeable for the entire distance, for it must be borne in mind that the rates of postage below 300 miles, are much higher in proportion to distance than beyond 300 miles. The same practice formerly prevailed at Madras, but the Committee of 1833-34 considered that "the division of a route into two distinct parts" by the occurrence of a boundary line ought to make no difference in the "the amount of postage" and that if 16 annas were a fair postage from Calcutta to Madras, and 9 annas the rate from Calcutta to Preaghy, the charge for the remaining distance should alone be annas 7 to complete the Rupee, and not annas 12 as had heretofore been the practice. Credit is therefore now given at Madras for the portion already paid at Bengal or Bombay, and the difference between such sum and the full postage only levied from the Receiver at Madras.

171. Letters from India to Ceylon must be paid in full in advance, but when letters arrive under cover from Europe to Residents in India, such letters may be forwarded as ship letters "Bearing Postage."

172. Letters for transmission by sea are received "post paid" at any station in Madras and Bombay and in Madras, a person sending such letter from any station receives in due course a stamped acknowledgment of its receipt at the General Post Office.

173. In Bengal, similar security is obtained for the safe conveyance of

letters to Europe from the interior, by the return of the duplicate chelaun, or way bill, to the office despatching the same, on which is marked the vessel by which such letters will be despatched.

174. We find no similar security afforded by the Bombay Regulations.

175. Throughout the three Presidencies, when individuals address a public officer on their private affairs, postage must be paid in advance, but this practice is reversed when such public officers correspond with individuals on such subjects, as they superscribe the letters with their official signature and send them "bearing postage."

176. Throughout the three Presidencies, the following letters pass free of postage, although the same are not franked by any competent authorities nor addressed on the public service.

*First.*—Letters from England to European Soldiers in His Majesty's or the Hon'ble Company's Services.

*N.B.*—This exemption is directed by Act IV, George IV Cap. 81.

*Secondly.*—Letters to the Secretary of the Civil, Military, and Medical Funds, on the business of those funds.

177. In Madras the following letters also pass free.

*First.*—Letters to Secretary of the Medical Societies Madras and Calcutta, and of the Asiatic Society, Madras.

*Secondly.*—Letters of Natives to the Commissary General or any of his officers on the business of that department.

178. In Bengal and Madras, letters may be despatched by Sea, at the option of parties, to places where there is conveyance by land. In Bengal, at the regulated land postage, together with half seapostage. In Madras, at the regulated land postage only.

179. All the three Presidencies, letters inaccurately franked are subjected to postage.

180. We must here bring to the notice of Government the existing practice with respect to letters *from* Ceylon, by which a continued loss is sustained. By the Post Office Regulations of that Island we observe that postage is charged by His Majesty's Government to places throughout India, at rates varying from 6 pence to 3 shillings. By a return furnished to the Madras Committee in 1833 it appears that the number of letters received at Madras in the month of June was 133 of which 130 were post paid in full. Now no postage is levied in India on any letters so "paid in full." All Ship letters moreover received on the main land for transmission to Ceylon, are forwarded to that Island by the Dawk, "Bearing Postage", but we do not find in either case that any

of postage on account of such letters are transferred by the Ceylon to the Indian Government. Ceylon letters are thus conveyed throughout India at the cost of the Indian Government without the latter deriving any benefit from the same, and it should here especially be observed that the Dak from Negapatam to Point Calmère as well as the establishment of boats from that place to Point Pedro, are maintained by the Madras Government for the exclusive conveyance of letters to and from that Island at a cost of more than 2,000 Rupees per annum.

181. Newspapers to and from that Island are however charged with postage in India. In Bengal, it is considered a  $4\frac{1}{2}$  station. At Madras the charge is 5 annas, but Madras postage is not charged on such papers as are carried through that Presidency to Bengal or Bombay.

182. Inland postage is levied on all newspapers printed in India, not franked by certain privileged authorities or addressed to them, agreeably to the scales annexed statement L and which are graduated with reference both to weight and distance.

183. In Bengal and Madras, the weight allowed for a single paper is three siccas with a gradually increasing scale for 4 and 6 siccas respectively on which latter weight the charge is doubled. In Bengal an allowance of  $\frac{1}{4}$  Sicca is made to newspaper proprietors in the rains to allow for damp.

184. In Bombay the weight allowed for a single paper is 4 sicca weight, and when above that weight and not exceeding 8 siccas the charge is double.

185. In Madras and Bombay the official Gazettes of both Governments go free, as also at the former, the Ceylon Government Gazette and the Calcutta Gazette. In Bengal, no such privilege exists, as all Official Gazettes are there charged with postage, when despatched into the interior, and not destined for record in some public office.

186. The rates of newspaper postage are different at each Presidency and are detailed in the annexed contrasted statement L.

187. In Bengal, two scales exist, a minimum of annas  $2\frac{1}{2}$  for all distances not exceeding 400 miles and  $4\frac{1}{2}$  annas for all beyond that distance. These rates convey newspapers, provided they are not opened, following a person about the country, unless he moves from a  $2\frac{1}{2}$  to a  $4\frac{1}{2}$  anna station, in which case they are subjected to the higher rate.

188. In Madras, the scale commences with the minimum of a anna up to 15 miles and increases to a maximum of 6 annas to all distances beyond 500 miles. These rates carry papers over the entire Presidency, following persons from station to station provided they are not opened, without further charge.

189. In Bombay the scale commences with a minimum of 1 anna up to 30 miles and increases to a maximum of 10 annas 9 pie for 1,400 miles.

190. It is difficult to form an average between rates presenting such remarkable discrepancies. But it may be observed, that to distances not exceeding 100 miles, the Madras and Bombay rates are below Bengal. At 200 miles they are nearly even, viz.,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  annas and three annas respectively but above that distance the two former scales rapidly increase, until at six hundred miles they both are about 25 per cent. higher than Bengal. The Madras scale here stops, but the Bombay increases until it is considerably upwards of double the Bengal maximum.

191. Newspapers from Bengal to Bombay are charged Bengal postage for the entire distance and from Bombay to Bengal are charged Bombay postage in like manner. A paper therefore from Calcutta to Bombay pays  $4\frac{1}{2}$  annas. One from Bombay to Calcutta  $10\frac{3}{4}$  annas.

192. From Madras to Bengal or Bombay the practice is different. Postage is charged by either post office to its respective boundary thus: Bombay and Madras, 4 annas Bombay postage and 5 annas Madras postage, total, 9 annas. Bengal and Madras,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  annas Bengal postage and 6 annas Madras postage, total  $8\frac{1}{2}$  annas:—

193. The existing rates of Newspaper postage were all established in 1834.

194. It is here necessary to state the several changes in newspaper postage effected of late years in each Presidency.

195. In Bengal up to the year 1829, Newspaper postage was charged at the rates as per margin. In that year these rates being deemed excessive a reduced rate was experimentally adopted for 2 years under a bond from the proprietors of papers to make good any deficit of Revenue that might result from its introduction.

Weight.	Rate of Postage.
Not exceeding 3 Siccas	Single Letter Postage
3 to 4 Siccas	Double
4 to 5 Siccas	Treble
and so on to 10 Sicca weight beyond which they were not received.	

196. The circulation of papers increased considerably but still in the first year the aggregate receipts had fallen off about  $\frac{1}{4}$ . In the second year the circulation further increased and the falling off in receipts was reduced to  $\frac{1}{7}$ th. The system was then extended experimentally for two further years. In 1834, there was still a small deficit in the amount of newspaper collections as contrasted with the receipts of 1828, and the rates were accordingly raised by the addition of  $\frac{1}{2}$  an anna to each scale and which rates are still in force.

197. At Madras Newspapers were charged single letter postage till the

27th July 1832, when the rate was reduced to half letter postage. But the *Male Asylum Herald* which then conveyed the Government orders went free. From April 1st, 1834 the rate was further reduced about 15 per cent. to the present scale, but the exemption from postage till then enjoyed by the *Herald* was withdrawn.

198. In Bombay Newspapers were charged single letter postage till 18th April 1826 when the rate was somewhat reduced. On the 5th June 1832, it was still further reduced to 2/5th of such letter postage, experimentally and on the 14th May, 1834, the present scale was fixed by adding 40 per cent. to the then existing rate.

199. In Bengal and Madras the postage on newspapers forwarded by individuals must be paid in advance.

200. In Bengal and Madras, Newspapers, etc., when sent direct from the press may be sent under an approved engagement on the part of the proprietors of the press "Bearing postage" except in cases when the paper is directed beyond the boundary of the Presidency where printed, in which case postage must be paid in advance. If with Ceylon or between Bengal and Bombay in full. If between Bengal and Madras or Madras and Bombay to the boundary line *only*.

201. In Bombay Newspapers may in all instances within that Presidency be forwarded "Bearing" or "Post Paid" at the option of the parties.

202. In Bengal and Madras, Newspapers returned are charged full postage for despatch, and half postage for return distance. In Bombay, they are charged full postage for the entire distance conveyed.

203. In Bengal and Madras, Newspapers are only received as such, when made up in short covers open at the end. In Bombay in addition to the above stipulation they must not exceed 5 inches by 3.

204. Any writing whatever on the margin or cover of a newspaper other than the direction or enclosed within it, renders the same liable to the penalty prescribed for law papers in like cases, vide paragraph 125.

205. Printed or lithographed letters or circulars are liable to full letter postage.

206. In Madras parcels of newspapers not exceeding a cube of 6 inches may be sent by Banghy at the ordinary Banghy charge, but above that size are subjected to double Banghy postage.

207. Ship newspaper postage is not levied uniformly throughout India.

208. In Bengal it is levied on all newspapers received or despatched by sea as follows:—On export or Import off Calcutta:—For each cover without reference to weight not exceeding 12 seers, annas 2½.



209. If shipped or unshipped off Kedgerree which, although only 61 miles distant, is considered a  $4\frac{1}{2}$  anna station, postage is levied as follows in Calcutta :

			Ship Postage.	Land Postage.	TOTAL.
			Annas.	Annas.	Annas.
For each cover not exceeding 6 Siccas	...		2	$4\frac{1}{2}$	$6\frac{1}{2}$
Do. Do. 9 Siccas	...		2	$6\frac{1}{2}$	$8\frac{1}{2}$
Do. Do. 12 Siccas	...		2	$8\frac{1}{2}$	$10\frac{1}{2}$

and the same postage only is charged for a cover delivered at Loodiana 1,164 miles distant as for one delivered in Calcutta.

210. In Madras, Ship postage is not charged on newspapers imported or exported by sea.

211. In Bombay Ship postage is not now charged on newspapers imported or exported by sea. In the year 1830, when ship postage was imposed on letters it was also imposed on parcels *exported* containing Newspapers, pamphlets, Law papers if open at each end, at one third of the ship letter rate. On parcels *imported* the charge up to 25 Sicca weight was 1 Rupee, up to 50 Sicca 2 Rupees, and an additional Rupee for every 50 Sicca weight. In the following year on 22nd April 1831 these rates were modified and the present Bengal sea scale for parcels adopted for every class of packet received in the post office. On the 25th October following all ship postage was abolished.

212. In Bengal all pamphlets and other printed papers are charged the same rate of inland postage as newspapers up to 6 Sicca weight and from

			Not exceeding 400 miles.	Beyond 400 miles.
			Annas.	Annas.
6 Sicca weight to 8 Sicca weight ...	...		6	12
8       "       10       "       ...	...		7	14
10       "       12       "       ...	...		8	16

and a single anna extra for each additional sicca to stations under 400 miles, and 2 annas to stations above that distance up to 21 siccas beyond which weight they are not sent by letter Dawk.

213. In Madras pamphlets and other printed papers not exceeding 3 sicca weight, are charged single letter postage but above that weight are charged half Banghy rates. Single price currents are however considered as newspapers.

214. On the routes on which the Banghy travels in the Madras Presidency newspapers, pamphlets and printed papers, exceeding in weight 1 Rupee are in all practicable cases despatched by such conveyance instead of by the letter Dawk.

215. In Bombay pamphlets and other printed papers are charged at the rate of a single letter for every 4 sicca weight except to Poonah 96 miles to which they are charged only 4 annas for every 10 sicca weight.

216. In Madras books printed at the Male Asylum press are sent by post or Banghy as the case may be without reference to weight at single letter postage payable at the place of delivery.

217. In Bombay certain religious periodicals are permitted to pass free. In Madras this privilege was formerly conceded, but it was abolished at the recommendation of the committee in 1834.

218. Throughout India the Proceedings and Journal of the Asiatic Society as well as those of the Medical and Physical Society, Calcutta, were formerly not liable to postage. But the privilege was withdrawn in 1834 except in Madras where the Proceedings of the Medical and Physical Society Calcutta still pass free.

219. Newspapers imported from England addressed to European soldiers in India are not charged with sea or land postage. This exemption is not prescribed by any special Regulation and it does not appear whence the practice originated but it is evidently of very old date.

220. In Bengal and Madras, Bounty money is payable at the undermentioned rates to masters of vessels or others bringing ship letters etc., excepting soldiers' and seamen's letters on which no ship postage is leviable to any post office or delivering the same to the Post Master General's agents.

221. In Bengal for each letter, packet of papers or parcel chargeable with postage from any port of India or to the eastward, or Ceylon or Java  $\frac{1}{2}$  an anna: from all other ports 1 anna.

222. In Madras for each letter only from any port 1 anna.

223. In Bombay as no ship postage is levied no Bounty to masters of vessels is payable.

224. When packets are transhipped at Madras or elsewhere for speedy conveyance to Calcutta, the Bounty of 1 anna is paid to the Commander bringing them from England, while he who brings them to Calcutta receives  $\frac{1}{2}$  an anna also, which extra  $\frac{1}{2}$  an anna is accordingly charged to individuals as transfer postage.

225. A small bounty, not exceeding 1 pice per letter is payable at Calcutta to masters of steam vessels who bring up packets from the Sand Heads or other places in the River or who tow up the Dak Boats.

226. When steam vessels go down to overtake a ship on her way to sea and convey an after packet from the post office a bounty of 1 anna per letter is paid to the commander and which anna is accordingly charged to persons availing themselves of this despatch in excess of the regulated ship postage.

227. Commanders of ships do not receive in India bounty money for such letters as they may convey from this country, but for every letter they thus deliver in England they receive from His Majesty's General Post Office the sum of two pence.

228. On a certain number of great roads in India, a separate post for conveyance of packets and parcels not exceeding a certain weight, and at a lower rate of postage than is charged for letters, is maintained. It is called "The Banghy" and is conveyed in like manner as the letter dawh, either by contract or by Government Establishments. In Bengal both systems are adopted. In Madras only the latter system is known. In Bombay there is no Government Banghy.

229. The Banghy contract system was established in Bengal in 1832-33, two years subsequent to the institution of the mail contracts, but its principles are not exactly the same as the dak contract. The mail contractors are bound to convey the Banghies upon the following terms. The Postmaster-General determines the number of men required, changing the same as circumstances may render necessary. The contractor gets the pay of the men at 4 rupees a head per mensem, and 10 per cent. commission for managing them to go 3 miles an hour, with a scale of increase and decrease for augmented or diminished speed.

230. The results of this system, in respect to speed, have been most beneficial, as will appear from the annexed contrasted statement M of the rate of travelling before and after its institution, on the principal roads in Bengal, and from which it appears that the speed has been increased about 53 per cent. or nearly one mile an hour. The rate in 1832 very little exceeded  $1\frac{1}{2}$  mile an hour. It now in some instances exceeds three miles, while the whole return for March, 1835, shows a general average of nearly  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles an hour.

231. The extra expense at which this augmented speed has been effected is detailed in the annexed statement N, from which it appears that the contract system has exceeded by about 24 per cent. the Government establishments it replaced *viz.*, cost of Government establishment for 12 months = 30,103; cost of contract system = 37,527; excess cost of contract system = 7,424.

*N.B.*—As some of these contracts have only been concluded a few months their cost is contrasted with the Government Establishments for such portion of the year only, as they have been actually in operation.

232. In Bengal the Banghy is maintained on all the direct routes from Calcutta to certain distances, and on several of the cross roads and over and above the regular Banghy, there are also extra Banghies which will be explained further on, *vide* paragraph 250.

233. In Madras, the Banghy is maintained only on two of the main routes, *viz.*, northward from Madras to Preaghy *en route* to Calcutta where it unites with the Bengal Banghy and westward from Madras to Cannanore. The rate of travelling may be stated at about  $2\frac{3}{4}$  miles per hour. There is besides a Dak Banghy southward from Madras to Trichinopoly, *viâ* Cuddalore and Tanjore, for the conveyance of letters as well as parcels. The Dak Banghy or "Letter and Parcel Post" is peculiar to this one route.

234. In Bengal and Madras, the weight carried by one man is limited to 50 lbs. divided into 2 boxes or baskets of 25 lbs. each. In the Dak Banghy above mentioned the weight is restricted to a total of 28 lbs.

235. In Bombay, there is now no separate Banghy Establishment. But the mail contractor from Bombay to Poonah is bound by his contract to convey parcels as well as letters between those two stations. This arrangement took effect from March, 1831. Parcels so forwarded to Poonah are transmitted to other stations by coolies supplied through the Dak Overseer at Poonah, at the regulated rates of hire.

236. In Bengal the Banghy is despatched daily except Sundays, 3 days being appropriated to public and 3 to private despatches.

237. In Madras, the Banghy is despatched only 3 days in the week, but the Dak Banghy to Trichinopoly is despatched daily except on Sundays.

238. In Bengal, parcels are received at the General Post Office for despatch up to 3 P.M.

239. In Madras they are received up to 2 P.M. but on the day of despatch only till 12 A.M.

240. In Bengal, packages are sent by Banghy up to 12 lbs. weight and a square of 12 inches by 15 inches deep.

241. In Madras, packages are sent only up to  $6\frac{1}{4}$  lbs. weight and a cube of 9 inches. In both Presidencies parcels are required to be cased in strong wax cloth and carefully sealed as a precaution against damp or robbery.

242. In Bengal and Madras parcels may be sent by the letter Dak at Banghy rates, to stations where there is no Banghy.

243. In Bengal, the size and weight of such parcels is left to the discretion of the Deputy Postmaster despatching the same.

244. In Madras, the weight is restricted to 80 Sicca weight rather less than 2 lbs.

245. In Bombay, parcels can only be thus sent through the Post Office up to 25 Sicca weight and at single letter postage for every 4 Sicca weight, except as above specified between Poonah and Bombay.

246. In Bengal, the Banghy conveyance is a painted wooden box of 18 inches cube. It is fastened with iron and closed by a small bar and padlock

which is also sealed. It is covered on the top with stout painted canvas, is strong and proof against any ordinary exposure to weather, but not always against the very heavy rains. A Banghy man carries two boxes, each box weighs from 13 to 15 lbs. so that the weight of the two may be stated at 28 lbs. and thus out of the maximum load for one man, *i.e.*, 50 lbs., 22 lbs. only of parcels are conveyed.

247. In Madras, the Banghy conveyance is a globular wicker basket about 18 inches in diameter and the same in depth, covered with stout painted canvas lined with Dungaree cloth and closed by 5 staples, with an iron chain passing through the whole, tied with a small cord and sealed. It is materially lighter, just half that of the Bengal conveyance being not more than 7 lbs. in weight. Thus the two baskets weigh but 14 lbs. and a Madras Banghy man, conveying the same maximum weight as in Bengal carries 36 lbs. of goods or 14 lbs. more than the Bengal man.

248. In Bombay, the parcels to Poonah are conveyed in the same cart which transports the mail. But previous to this arrangement, and when a Government Banghy conveyance was maintained from Bombay to Poonah, a very strong rattan basket, covered with painted canvas, about 18 inches in diameter by 12 deep and fastened by a brass staple and padlock, was used. The weight of these baskets was about 11 lbs. each, so that out of a full load of 50 lbs., the Bombay Banghyman carried 28 lbs. of parcels, *i.e.*, 6 pounds more than the Bengal Banghyman and 8 pounds less than the Madras Banghy burder.

249. In Bengal, the Banghy is extensively employed both by Government and individuals but the proportion of articles forwarded to Calcutta is so much less than those despatched from the Presidency that whereas 5 men are maintained at every stage to run *up* on the road to Cawnpore only 2 are retained to run *down*.

250. In Bengal besides the regular Banghy there are also extra Banghies which are entertained by the Post Office for the trip, according as their services are required. The number of such Banghies is considerable, and it is somewhat worthy of remark that the charge for a whole Banghy of 50 lbs. is the same only as is charged for half that weight. The cause for this anomaly does not appear. As many as 59 extra Banghies are occasionally despatched in one month from the Calcutta General Post Office.

251. In Madras, the Banghy being confined to only two roads is not available in the same proportion as in the Bengal Presidency. It is still however extensively employed especially by Government.

252. In Bengal, persons are permitted to send letters made up in packets by the Banghy, at Banghy rates, if they happen to prefer such conveyance.

253. In Madras this practice is prohibited under heavy penalties and any parcel suspected to contain letters is liable to be examined at the Post Office in presence of the person to whom it is addressed. It is to be observed that this restriction formerly existed in Bengal, but was abolished some years ago.

254. Throughout India, valuables are not knowingly received for despatch by the Banghy in order to guard as effectually as possible against the probability of robbery or detention of this conveyance.

255. In Bengal, a few years ago the practice of stealing from the Banghy was very prevalent. This in Mr. Elliot's opinion resulted in a great measure from its being conveyed in cane petarals but partly also from the slow rate of travelling, and the stoppages at night in *chokees* on the road, by which ample opportunity was afforded for the perpetration of such offences. The Banghy is now conveyed in stout wooden boxes, no stoppages are allowed, it being alike the duty and interest of the contractor to prevent them; its speed has been materially augmented, it travels all night in like manner as the Mail and wherever necessary guards are furnished for its protection. The offence of stealing from the Banghy has in consequence of late years materially diminished and has now almost entirely ceased.

256. The rates of Banghy postage are very different in each Presidency as will appear from the annexed contrasted statement O. Between scales increasing by such dissimilar gradations in respect to weight to charge and to distance, it is difficult to frame any accurate average; but it may be generally stated that the Madras scale is materially higher than that of Bengal, and is very often double, while in Bombay on the only route whereon parcels are conveyed, the rate is lower than in Bengal.

257. In Bengal, the scale for a single Banghy commences with a minimum weight of 50 Siccas, a minimum distance of 50 miles and a minimum charge of 6 annas and increases to a maximum distance of 2,300 miles for which the charge is 108 annas for 50 Sicca weight. At 1,100 miles the charge is 54 annas. In respect to weight the Bengal scale increases regularly by 50 Sicca: 100 Sicca being rated as double, 150 treble and so on to the maximum weight of 540 Siccas or 12 lbs.

258. In Madras the scale commences with a minimum weight of 50 Siccas, a minimum distance of 80 miles and a minimum charge of 12 annas and increases to a maximum distance of 1,140 miles, for which the charge is 92 annas for 50 Sicca weight. In respect to weight the Madras scale increases by 30 Siccas at a time, the charge increasing somewhat irregularly from 30 to nearly 50 per cent. for each additional 30 Siccas, up to the maximum weight of 280 Siccas or 6½ lbs.

259. In Bombay a parcel not containing writings or printed papers and not exceeding 4 lbs. *i.e.*, 162 Siccas or one cubic foot in size is forwarded to Poonah 96 miles by the Dak Contractor at a charge of 16 annas or for every lb. exceeding 42 annas extra. These charges are the property of the contractor and do not form any portion of the Post Office collections. Beyond Poonah parcels can only be conveyed by Dak up to 25 Sicca weight, and at a charge of single letter postage for every 4 Siccas. But the Postmaster at Poonah forwards parcels, to other stations by coolies supplied through the Dak Overseer.

260. In Bengal and Madras, Banghy postage must be paid in advance, save on parcels received by sea, or on Books, Pamphlets and Papers received direct from the Press and which are despatched under an approved responsibility for the postage. In Bengal this privilege is also extended to pamphlets, or periodicals imported by Book-sellers.

261. In case of refusal by the parties, the packets are returned to the sender who has to pay direct and return postage.

262. In Bengal, parcels imported and forwarded by Banghy are subjected to the usual Banghy rates as far as 300 Siccas, but if above that weight are charged only half those rates.

263. *Franking*.—The power and privileges of Franking vary materially under the several Presidencies. It may, however, be stated generally that in each, a certain number of high functionaries, as well as certain authorities in Europe, *viz.*, the India Board, the Directors, etc., enjoy the privilege of sending and receiving all letters and parcels free. At Madras this indulgence, as respects the sending letters franked, on the part of such authorities as reside within that Presidency is accompanied by a stipulation similar to that in force in England, in respect to Members of both Houses of Parliament, that the whole direction must be in the handwriting of such officer, and that it must also bear the date and place whence despatched by post.

*N.B.*—The Frank of a Member of either House of Parliament does not entitle a letter in India to pass free.

264. In each Presidency, certain public officers possess the power of franking letters in the public service, but the system is not uniform, several authorities being permitted to frank in one Presidency to whom the power is not allowed in another.

265. In Bengal, the Government Secretaries, the Postmaster-General, Residents and Political Agents, are permitted to frank on "private service."

266. A similar privilege, including also the Adjutant, Quarter-master, and Commissary General, formerly existed at Madras and Bombay, but has

recently been abolished at both these Presidencies, at Bombay under date 13th October, 1832, at Madras from April 1st, 1834.

267. In Madras, the public officers are now divided into two cases "those who have power to frank all letters on the public service" and "those who have power to frank such letters, only to certain specified authorities or within certain divisions or districts" and it should be stated that since the revision of the franking rules at Madras in 1833-34, when the above system was introduced, and certain privileges withdrawn, the number of public letters has materially decreased.

268. In Bombay, a distinction with respect to certain authorities is made between a letter on "service" and one "on the service" the cause for which is not apparent. But all public officers, subordinate to that Presidency are required to send in monthly a declaration on honour that the contents of all letters and envelopes received, as well as all letters and envelopes despatched on the service have been exclusively confined to official matters.

269. It has been declared by the Government of India, that no public officer shall send or cause or permit to be sent under a cover bearing his frank any letter paper, writing or other enclosure, other than what shall relate to the public business of their respective departments. The power of franking is not restricted to documents written in official form but is extended to all letters which public officers have occasion to write on the public service, relating solely and exclusively to the business of their respective offices and departments.

270. In the event of any breach of the foregoing regulations, the Postmaster-General at each Presidency is authorised to levy an amount equal to ten times the regulated postage. Subordinates detected in introducing private documents into public covers are ordered to be dismissed, and any public officer affixing his frank to such documents, is ordered to be fined ten times the amount of postage, and to be reported to Government for such orders as may be deemed proper.

271. The Postmaster-General is moreover authorised to cause any franked letter respecting which there may be grounds of suspicion to be opened prior to delivery, in the presence of the parties to whom such letter or parcel may be addressed, or their Agents. Heads of Departments are, moreover, enjoined themselves to open all public letters to their address and to send to the Post Office every private letter enclosed under such public covers. In each Presidency the letters of all non-commissioned soldiers and sailors, and also of Native commissioned, non-commissioned and Sepoys and certain camp followers pass free of postage, when franked by their respective commanding officers.



Such letters are restricted to the size and weight of a single sheet of ordinary paper.

272. In Bengal and Bombay the number of such letters is not restricted. In Madras it is restricted to one daily for every hundred men. In Bombay, the letter must be brought open to the officer who is to frank the same.

273. The Bengal Postmaster-General observes that the system as in force in Bengal affords a great opportunity for fraud, it being notorious that both classes sell their privilege and take the letters of the Native Bankers and others to their commandments for signature. Mr. Elliot proposes as a check, that each sepoy should be permitted to write only to certain members of his family to be registered, but admits that this practice would occasion much trouble, and probably be but little attended to after all.

274. It is necessary here to bring to the notice of Government the prodigious increase in public correspondence in India since the year 1824-25. This increase has been very great at Madras, as shown in the annexed statement P but till more at Bombay, where it will be perceived it has actually doubled, and this increase has taken place notwithstanding the introduction of a system which directs that whenever two or more letters are to be despatched to one authority from any office by the same Dak, the whole shall be placed under one envelope.

275. The Committee regret that, on account of the destruction of records rendered necessary to prevent enormous accumulation of papers which have become useless for office purposes in the Bengal Post Office, with the sanction of Government, they are not able to ascertain to what extent the increase in public correspondence has been carried in that Presidency.

276. The letters of public officers who have occasion to correspond on matters purely of a public nature, but who are not themselves privileged to frank, are franked by certain regulated authorities, to whom it is their duty to submit them for that purpose.

277. Letters inaccurately franked are subjected to postage.

278. The mode of posting bearers for travellers throughout India differs in each Presidency. In Bengal, it is conducted entirely by the Post Office Department, unless parties prefer to post bearers privately for themselves. In Bombay it is partially conducted by that department, but on a system very dissimilar from that of Bengal while in Madras it has no connection with the Post Office, but is conducted by the Chief Police Magistrate at the Presidency and by Collectors and Magistrates of districts in the mofussil. We shall accordingly briefly notice each system in succession. But we must first bring to the notice of Government one point, in which the Presidencies of Bengal

and Bombay differ materially from that of Madras. In the two former, the hire of bearers, as well as of coolies, carts, etc., is not fixed by any Government Regulation, but varies according to circumstances in almost every district, and each bazaar apparently has its own rate. In Madras the rate is fixed by Government Regulation. If individuals choose of their own accord to hire themselves for less than the regulated amounts they are at liberty so to do, but they cannot exact a larger amount of hire.

279. Throughout Bengal and Agra, Dak bearers are posted for travellers by the Post Office Department. The traveller pays in advance into the Post Office, ordering the Dak, a sum at the rate of 8 annas a mile, and 4 annas more as security against loss by demurrage. If no delays occur the 4 annas are refunded. The hire due to the bearers is paid to them by the Post Office Department, and as the charge of 8 as. more than defrays all expenses incurred on that account, the surplus is carried to a fund called the "staying Bungalow fund" a portion of which is expended for the maintenance of certain servants employed in its superintendence, and the remainder is retained for appropriation to the repair of public Bungalows. It will hereafter appear that all the servants employed on these duties are not charged to this head.

280. We have preferred enquiries to the local authorities on a variety of points connected with the management of this branch of the department, respecting which we were unable to procure information at the General Post Office, and which we shall accordingly embody, when received, in our second or financial report.

281. The amount at the credit of Deputy Postmasters on this account for the year 1834-35, as shown by a memorandum of Receipts ... 135,959 the Revenue Accountant, was Rs. 18,473 as per Disbursements ... 117,486 margin.  
18,473

282. A set of Bearers throughout Bengal and Agra consists of 8 bearers, 2 massalgies and 2 Banghy burdars, unless parties please to order more of each.

283. In Madras until recently, the facilities for Dak travelling were very far behind those in Bengal, and it was exceedingly expensive. Bearers had however, been established at regulated stations on all the principal roads in Mysore, by the Government of that State, from the fall of Seringapatam, and a few years since some sets of bearers were also established by our Government along the southern route to the Neelgheries.

284. This system has recently been improved and extended, and 2 sets of bearers are now established, southward along the road from Madras to Sheally in Tanjore, and again from Trichinopoly to Ootacamond, as also westward from Madras to Baitmungalum, where they join the bearers of the Mysore

Government. These bearers are maintained on permanent hire at the expense of Government, and a charge for the same is made in advance to travellers at the rate of 8 annas a mile, and the amount paid into the Collector's Treasury, if in the mofussil and into the Police Office, if at the Presidency. The whole of these bearers are generally under the Superintendent of Police at Madras, who issues the necessary instructions to the local authorities, on all other routes, bearers are posted on application to the nearest local magisterial officer, who issues the necessary instructions and reports when the Dak is ready. The charge for such bearer is 5 annas for every mile they carry a loaded palanquin, and half that rate for every mile they travel to their station. The travellers receive from the officer who prepares the Dak, a memorandum showing the stations where the bearers are posted, and the amount to be paid to each set, not including demurrage. The traveller pays the bearers himself, enters each payment on the face of the above memorandum, and at the conclusion of the Dak returns the same to the proper officer for registration, stating that the sums specified have been severally paid, and noting any complaint that he may have to offer relative to the conduct of the bearers.

285. A set of bearers in Madras Presidency consists of 12 bearers, 1 massauljee, and 1 Banghy burdar.

286. The accounts of receipts and disbursements of the Government bearers are rendered by the Collectors of District in which the bearers are severally located.

287. The above arrangements, together with a revised rate of hire for bearers throughout the Madras Territories, *vide* statement Q, were recommended by a Madras Committee in February, 1835, but were only carried into effect so recently as November last.

288. In Bombay, the duty of posting bearers for the public has been conducted by the Post Office Department at Poonah, by order of Government since 1828, but is not extended "by order" to any other station. It is, however, the practice of the Postmaster-General at Bombay and of his Deputies at out stations, to afford their assistance gratuitously, when required, in furtherance of this service. But these officers are not permitted to exercise any control over the several bearers employed. Travellers proceeding by Dak, pay the money, for the same in advance to the Deputy Postmaster who transfers it to the Muccadam or Surbaroy, *i.e.*, Native Overseer who supplies the bearers. The sum so paid is agreeably to the regulated hire of the men, and no portion of the same is retained by the Deputy Postmaster, nor is any account of such receipts and disbursements entered in the general accounts of the Post Office Department.

289. The Muccadum or Native Overseer receives a fee of 1 rupee per each set of bearers posted.

290. A set of bearers in Bombay consists of 12 men with 1 Masauljee and 1 Banghy burdar.

291. We have thought it unnecessary in this our first report in the Post Office Department to do more than submit the detail of the several systems as they actually exist. The suggestions we may have to offer in modification and improvement of the same, in the establishment of one uniform system for the whole of India in connection with the present and probable future Financial results in this department will form the subject of a further report at as early a period as may be practicable.

G. A. SIDDONS,  
*Hon. Member.*  
T. J. TAYLOR,  
*Secretary.*

We have, etc.,  
J. A. CRAWFORD,  
W. R. YOUNG,  
H. BORRADAILE,  
H. BABINGTON,  
C. E. TREVELYAN,

#### APPENDIX.

##### STATEMENT C (*Vide* PARA 25.)

*Extract of letter from the Postmaster-General to the Secretary to the Post Office Committee, dated the 20th June, 1835.*

7. The Deputy Postmaster is supposed to superintend the collections and the duty generally, as well of the subordinate chowkies, as his own office, all subjects of complaints at either one or the other are referable to him. He has besides, except where separate contracts exist, the control of the mail and Banghy establishments throughout his division and the duty of providing Dak Bungalow for Travellers. The quantity of trouble thus entailed on the Deputy Postmaster, varies of course with the length and number of the mail roads leading through the Divisions, the extent and population of his own station and other circumstances, but in all cases, where there are more roads than one, the details required of the Deputy Postmaster, are sufficient to occupy a fair portion of his time, supposing him to perform the duty himself. Consequently those offices, which are under the charge of collectors, or other officers, holding them *ex-officio*, are but rarely superintended as they ought to be. On this subject, I have the honor to annex \*extracts as noted below of letters

\* Extract from Postmaster General's letters to Government 27th January, 31st August, and 19th December 1831,

addressed by me to Government. That the sentiments therein expressed are correct, has been confirmed in my mind by further experience, and I feel certain that so long as Government persist in maintaining this merely nominal superintendence, the improvement in the Post Office Department will be rendered doubly difficult. I have no hesitation in saying, that had an opposite system been resorted to 5 years ago, an improvement infinitely greater than has taken place would now be apparent, and as little, in further asserting, that a perseverance on the same system, will go far to defeat the exertions of future Postmasters-General to improve the mail conveyance of the country, to the degree to which I know it to be capable of improvement.

8. At present, the Collector at one station, the Deputy Collector and Joint Magistrate at another, the Political Resident at a third, is the Deputy Postmaster, all these officers have business of their own, of so much greater importance, that they rarely, if ever, interfere further with the Post Office than to affix their signatures to such papers as the Moonshee brings them. To remedy this, Government permit them to transfer the detail duties to their assistants. This being done, Mr. Assistant A takes charge, but being the week following ordered to undertake some duty in the mofussil, he is compelled to deliver over the Post Office to Mr. Assistant B, who being in his turn sent to make a settlement turns the Post Office over again to the Collector, and in this way the transfers take place so rapidly from one person, whose more important avocations render it impossible for him to do the duty, to another, who is frequently a young man fresh from College, and totally incapable of performing it, so that it is not uncommon, when calling for a report respecting any irregularity that has occurred to find that the office changes hands three or four times before the necessary information is obtained.

9. On this point I would beg leave to refer the Committee to a correspondence noted below\* respecting the loss of a certain sum embezzled in the Post Office at Futtyghur. It will show how impossible it is to fix responsibility upon any individual under such a system and other similar instances are not wanting to prove this if necessary.

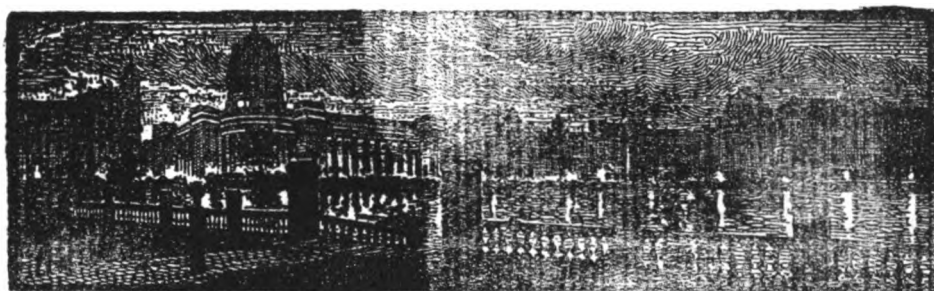
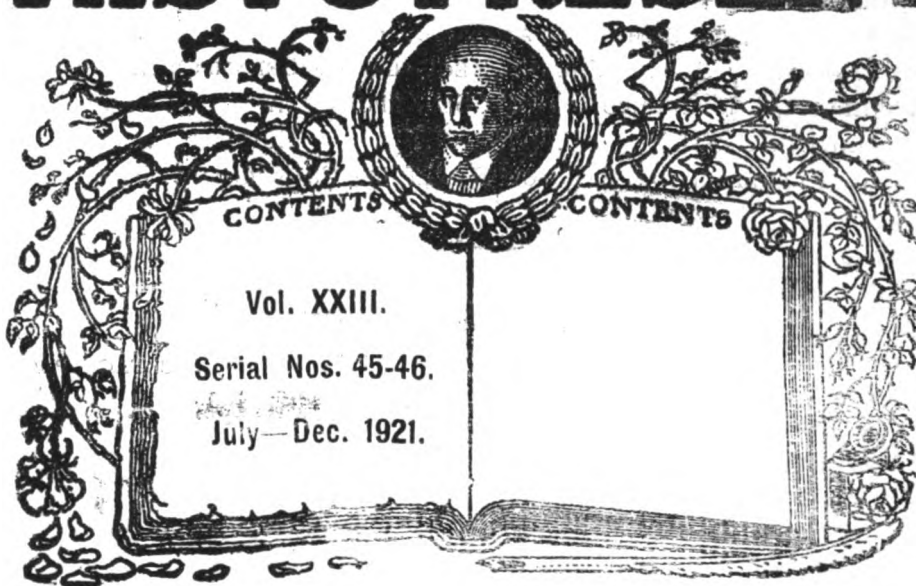
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\* Postmaster General's letter to Government 3rd April 1834, Futtyghur, Deputy Postmaster's letter to the Postmaster General 19th February, 1834; Postmaster General's reply 25th February, 1834, Deputy Postmaster's reply thereto 19th March, 1834.

*(To be continued.)*



# BENGAL PAST & PRESENT



JOURNAL OF THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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# History of the College of Fort William—II.

[ Continued from Vol. XXI.]

COMPILED BY LT.-COL. G. S. A. RANKING. M.A., M.D., I.M.S. (RETIRED).

Mr. Lumsden (6th August, 1810) in a letter to the Secretary regarding the Persian Dictionary to be prepared by Maulvis Kureem Hoosyne, Buder Alee and Meer Hoosyne Alee, calls attention to his former request for Arabic works, and says that not a single volume has been added to the Library by anyone of the residents to whom application was authorised. He encloses a list of Persian books required for the compilation of the Dictionary. The Secretary to Government, in reply, states that the necessary steps will be taken to procure the works if possible. One hundred copies of the 2nd volume of the Mishcatul Masabin were received into the College Library on the 14th August, 1810, at a cost of 3200 rupees, defrayed by Government.

Dr. Francis Buchanan submits an illustrated vocabulary. On the 31st August, 1810 Mr. James Stuart was appointed a member of the Council of the College of Fort William (Proc. III. 316). On the 14th September, 98 copies of Forster's Sanskrit grammar were transmitted to the College by Government.

Lieutenant Galloway, who says he has been away from his regiment for nine months while occupied with his work on Muhammadan law, now applied to be appointed assistant professor in the College to afford him more facility for his work. The Council, however, were unable to recommend such an appointment, in view of the small number of students in the College and the orders of the Court of Directors for limiting the annual expense to 1,50,000 rupees. Mr. Lumsden returned to the charge in his endeavour to improve the Arabic and Persian Library of the College. It is quite invigorating to read his letter and one can only wish he could have infused some of his enthusiasm into those to whom he appeals for help. The Residents, he says, have afforded no aid whatever, and he appeals to the British Government to establish in Calcutta a noble and splendid library in every department of oriental literature. He also makes a proposition for the engagement of a native Arab of education for the service of the College by whose aid Arabic literature might be greatly advanced in the College. Such a person exists, he says, in Calcutta in the person of one Shaikh Ahmad who has been reduced to poverty by the capture of all his property and that of his employer by a French privateer. Mr. Lumsden now asks Government to sanction the appointment of Shaikh Ahmad to his office at a salary of 100 rupees a month. "I can employ him for the present in the compilation of an extensive miscellany for the students in the Arabic class and will be enabled hereafter by his means to undertake the publication of some of the best of the Arabian poets."

The College Council lent a ready ear to this appeal and on their recommendation all of Mr. Lumsden's proposals met with acceptance. The Government also sanctioned



the printing of Dr. Leyden's Vocabulary of Burman, Malay and Siamese, which had just been submitted by its author (5. 8. 10). Lieutenant Lockett at this time (Sept. 29, 1810) submitted to the Council an application for leave to Arabia, "in order to improve himself in the language of the country, and to accelerate his professional pursuits by the many local advantages likely to be afforded by such an opportunity." The Council forwarded his letter to Government at the same time recommending him for leave for one year, and suggesting that Mr. Lockett should be authorised to purchase a collection of useful Arabic books for the Library of the College, not exceeding on the whole the expense of 5000 rupees. This was granted. The Prem Sagar published by Lulloojee Lal Kub was at this time (2nd October, 1810) received into the College Library. Dr. George Babington writing from the General Hospital under date October 30, 1810 asks for copies of the Burma and Malay languages as he is proceeding with the Resident to Amboyana and may be able to add to the vocabulary of the languages used in the Eastern Settlements. Six copies were sent him. Some of the certificates required to be furnished by students before leaving the College afford some amusement. The declaration of debt demanded from them included an explanation of the reasons which led to such debt being contracted. One gentleman says his debt of thirty thousand Sicca Rupees (£3750) "has been occasioned by the purchase of various articles of furniture, plate, books, horses, buggies and other necessities of life." Another pleads the necessity of "providing for the comforts of life." Another more vaguely "unavoidable causes." In all cases the Council granted the necessary certificates so that there does not appear to have been any great strictness in construing the Regulations. Mr. Lumsden made another attempt to obtain certain Persian books, among others the Sirajul Lughat by the help of Captain Baillie, Resident at Lucknow, but without success. Captain Baillie, in a letter to the Chief Secretary, dated October 1810, regrets his inability to purchase any Persian or Arabic Manuscripts or to obtain them on loan, but offers to have them copied under his own superintendence. The Governor-General in Council approved of this suggestion and a list of the books required was sent to Captain Baillie for the purpose of his obtaining copies of such as might be available.

In November, 1810 Mr. Lewis Ferdinand Smith submitted to the College Council, a rough copy of his translation of the Chahar Dar wesh of Meer Ummun and asks for their support, which was, however, declined on the ground that it would be of no use to the College students. They suggested that it should be printed in England. The title page of a copy of this work in this library is dated Calcutta 1845, but the preface is dated 1st September, 1811, and the dedication to Lord Minto is dated Calcutta, 1st August, 1813.

This work is interesting as being the first translation of the Bagh-o-Bahar. It was from this work that Dr. Forbes took the translation which he published as his own, omitting not only the notes illustrative of native manners and customs, but all reference to the real translator.

On the 10th November, 1810 the Collector of Sea Customs at Fort St. George wrote to the Board of Trade regarding two boxes containing books which had lain for some years at the Custom House unclaimed. The books were in good condition

and bore the arms of the University of Oxford. The boxes were marked C. F. W. (College of Fort William ?) and as private information was forthcoming that a present of books had been sent some years before by the University of Oxford to the College of Fort William instructions were sent by Government for the transmission of these books to the College Library. These books of which a list will be found at pages, 417, 418 and 419 of Proceedings of Council Vol. III. were eventually (in 1836) transferred to the Public Library. A new set of Regulations for the loan of books was promulgated on the 13th December, 1801.

Pages 425 to 442 inclusive of the Proceedings Vol. III. are occupied with a list of Arabic and Persian Books composing the Library of the late "Tafazzul" Hooseyn Khan, in sending which Captain Baillie, Resident at Lucknow, states that all of the books "may be procured at any time for the purpose of being copied at this place." At this time 100 copies of the "Cyclopædia Hindustania of Wit," were received into the Library. Lieutenant Roebuck writing from 19 Chowringhee, dated 4th January, 1811, solicits the sanction of the Council to publish his Naval Dictionary of the "Lascari bat" in 200 pages 12mo. and asks for three months' leave to remain in Calcutta to see it through the press. The book was published by subscription in Calcutta, Government taking 100 copies at 8/- a copy, (October, 1811.) Dr. Hunter also in January, 1811 solicited the support of Government to the publication of a Collection of Proverbs in Arabic, Persian, Hindustani and Punjabee. The Government consented to give the usual subscription for 100 copies.

A reward of rupees 500 was awarded to Mirza Jahn Tapish for his translation of the Bahar Danish into verse. (Proc. 25th February, 1811.) On January 31st, 1811 Mr. Joshua Marshman of the Serampore College wrote asking the College to give support to the printing of Chinese works in the Mission Press by recommending Government to grant pecuniary assistance to the undertaking. This scheme included the printing and publication of either the whole of the Imperial Dictionary or a compendium of it. His edition of Confucius had received far more support than he had expected, about seventy more copies having been subscribed for than he had been able to supply. If the Government aid asked for were granted Mr. Marshman proposed immediately to put to press a new edition. The answer received was not very encouraging, though the College Council supported Mr. Marshman's application. The publication of the Soorah and Noojoom-ool-Foolqan were both sanctioned, Government subscribing for 100 copies of each. Dr. Hunter being at this time (21st February, 1811) in expectation of orders to proceed on foreign service, proposed that Lieutenant Galloway and Lieutenant Roebuck should be appointed to act for him. Lieutenant Galloway was subsequently appointed to act as Secretary and Examiner in Arabic and Persian, and Lieutenant Roebuck to act for Lieutenant Lockett as Assistant Secretary and Examiner in Hindustani. Dr. Hunter left the College on the 11th March, 1811 after making over the conduct of his Dictionary and other work to Lieutenant Roebuck.

Maulvi Amanat Ullah retired on the 1st May and was granted a pension of 20/- a month. Mr. Carey was at this time granted an allowance of 150/- a month for the purpose of transcribing Sanskrit manuscripts. The sum of 2000/- was passed to

Maulvi Mahomed Rashid for translating the Persian version of the Hidayah. Lieutenant Galloway was also permitted to employ for a further period of two years, the maulvis and writers to assist him in translating the Koodooree.

Complaints having been received that copies of Lumsden's Persian Grammar sent to England were defective, the first 48 pages only being present, Mr. Lumsden was called upon to remedy the defect and to offer an explanation of the way in which this had occurred. He declined to make good the defect on the ground that Mr. Buchanan had insisted upon sending home these defective copies against Mr. Lumsden's express wish. The question was referred to Government who upheld Mr. Lumsden and ordered that the copies remaining in the College which were defective in wanting the first 48 pages should be sent to England, to those Universities and other Public Libraries which possessed defective copies consisting only of the first 48 pages. Nine copies of this nature were sent home in September, 1811.

Captain Taylor was suffering from fever in September, 1811, and was granted leave on medical certificate to proceed to the Sandheads for a month.

With a view to ascertain whether the students admitted at the College of Fort William had acquired any and what knowledge of the Asiatic languages at the College of Hertford or elsewhere before their admission, it was ordered that when students were admitted the Professors to whose classes they were attached should make a special report upon their qualifications. The Cadet Institution at Baraset was abolished about this time, and we find that all the books formerly in use there were sent to the College Library (Sept. 12, 1811).

In consequence of the extension of the Oriental Library of the College it was found that an Assistant Librarian was required. Upon the recommendation of the College Council a native Assistant Librarian was sanctioned on a salary of 40 rupees a month. Maulvi Kureemooddeen was appointed from the 1st October, 1812. On the 16th October, 1811 the College Council addressed Government on the subject of making a present of books to the University of Oxford in return for the valuable books received from that University. These books were to be bound uniformly, and stamped with the College arms, and forwarded to the Honourable Court of Directors for presentation in such manner as they might think proper.

The list of these books appears at pages 76 and 77. Proc. Vol. IV. On the 17th October, Messrs. Palmer & Co., sent by direction of Major C. Stewart a copy of his catalogue of Tippoo Sultan's Library as a present from him to the College.

In a public letter bearing date May 22, 1811 the Court of Directors ordered that for the future Sanskrit should be encouraged and that it should be considered as one of the languages a knowledge of any two of which entitles the student to leave the College and enter on the public service, and that the examinations should be based on Mr. Wilkin's grammar. They also directed that in future indebtedness on the part of any student should render him ineligible to fill any situation of trust and responsibility.

In January, 1812 some books belonging to the estate of Mr. Speke were offered for sale to the College. The Council agreed to purchase a certain number but as they would not purchase the whole *en bloc* the books were sent to public auction.

At the Council meeting held 13th January, 1812 Mr. Harington informed the College Council that he had received a letter from Dr. Hunter acquainting him that he was to be appointed Superintending Surgeon of the Island of Java and its dependencies on the 1st November, 1811, and he proposed to transmit his resignation of the office of Secretary and Examiner on the publication of the order for his permanent appointment at Java. In consequence of this the Council addressed Government suggesting that Lieutenant A. Lockett should be appointed to succeed Dr. Hunter as Secretary and Examiner, that Lieutenant Galloway should be appointed permanently Assistant Secretary and Examiner, continuing to act as Secretary till Lieutenant Lockett's return. Lieutenant Roebuck was to continue in his acting appointment as Assistant Secretary and Examiner. The concluding paragraph of this letter deserves quoting as shewing their appreciation of Dr. Hunter's services to the College. "We cannot omit the present occasion of acknowledging the eminent and zealous services of Dr. William Hunter to the College, not only during the period he has been attached to it as Secretary and Examiner, but by his voluntary and able assistance at the Public Examinations from the commencement, we believe, of the Institution. The objects of the College in the Hindustani Department have also been essentially promoted by the Dictionary in that language which has been published by Dr. Hunter, and in several other languages by a Collection of Proverbs in Persian, Hindustani, Arabic, Sanskrit, and Punjabee, which is now in the press. Various other works which have been published under the patronage of Government have also been superintended by Dr. Hunter or have been considerably promoted by the aid of his learned labours, abilities and knowledge." The letter is signed by J. H. Harington, J. Fombelle and J. Stuart and is dated 13th January, 1812. The following is Dr. Hunter's letter of resignation :—

Gentlemen, having been appointed Superintending Surgeon of this Island and its dependencies from this date, it becomes incumbent on me to resign the office of Secretary to the College Council. My connection with the institution over which you preside will thus be at an end, but I shall always retain a zealous attachment to its interests and be happy to promote them whenever it is anyhow in my power. Permit me, gentlemen, to return you on this occasion my hearty thanks for the kindness and the aid which I received from you in the execution of my official duties under your orders, and to assure you of the esteem and regard with which I have the honour to be gentlemen, your most obedient servant,

BATAVIA,  
The 1st November, 1811. }

WILLIAM HUNTER.

On the 17th January 1812 the appointment of Lieutenant Galloway and Lieutenant Roebuck were formally made with effect from 1st November, 1811 the date of Dr. Hunter's resignation. Lieutenant Roebuck evidently had aspirations to succeed Dr. Hunter, and conceived his claims to that appointment to be superior to those of Lt. Galloway. A long letter addressed by him on the 14th January, 1812 sets forth a list of claims to the position of Secretary and Examiner based upon his

services in the past. It appears from this letter (Proc. Vol. IV. pages 115-118) that from May, 1806 till February, 1810, Lt. Roebuck was engaged in collaboration with Dr. Gilchrist in writing Hindustani works which he cites, most of them having been published in Edinburgh. All this work was undertaken during a period of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  years when he was in England on account of his health, during which time he was also engaged in teaching Hindustani. Lieutenant Roebuck also refers to the Appendix to Hunter's Dictionary and the Volume of Proverbs upon which he has been engaged since Dr. Hunter's departure. The College Council sent this letter to the Court of Directors who in their letter dated June 6, 1810 inform Lieutenant Thomas Roebuck that "the Court being impressed with a high sense of the value of your labours, they have resolved that you be presented with the sum of Five hundred guineas as a mark of their approbation thereof." *O si sic omnes!*

On the 10th July, the Court of Directors in paras 162-163 of a public General Letter took the Government severely to task for "the encouragement which seems to have been indiscriminately afforded" to the publication of oriental works. "We particularly allude to the Shah Nama, the Dobistan, &c." In forwarding this extract to the Council the Government called for a list of all the oriental works which had been subscribed to by Government from the period of the institution of the College.

The Arabic Miscellany sanctioned by the Council in October, 1810 was now (January, 1812) complete and under the title of Nufhutool Yemen was presented to the College who took 100 copies at a cost of 3971 rupees.

The Khezana Amira of Mir Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami came up at this time for a reconsideration of the recommendation for its publication which the Council had formerly made to Government. In view of the recent order of the Directors it was resolved that the recommendation should be withheld. The question of adopting measures for encouraging the study of Sanskrit and Arabic by Civil Servants after leaving College now came under consideration, and in communication with the College Council, rewards of 5000 Sicca Rupees were authorised to be given to "such of the Civil Servants as may after leaving the College of Fort William attain such a proficiency in either the Arabic or the Sanskrit languages, as may enable them not only to read with fluency and correctness a book of Moosalman or Hindoo Law, but clearly to understand and explain it to the satisfaction of the Examiners."

The condition of the Madrissah or Muhammadan College in Calcutta which was founded by Warren Hastings to promote the study of Muhammadan Law, was at this time brought to the notice of the College Council by Dr. Lumsden, who in his letter passes some very severe strictures upon it. He advocates an enquiry into its management and the appointment of a Superintendent versed both in Oriental Languages and in Muhammadan Law. Captain Galloway was pointed out by Dr. Lumsden as being "in every way fit for the situation." Dr. Lumsden calls attention to the absence from any Public Library of a correct copy of any Arabic work in Law, and says that Captain Galloway would be in a position to remedy this glaring defect. This recommendation was forwarded to Government. In reply the Governor-General in Council doubted the expediency of appointing an European gentleman to supervise

the work of the Madriissah, but fully recognised the necessity of bringing that institution more fully under the control of the public officers of Government. To this end Government propose to modify the existing Committee of government and to establish public disputations, when prizes, rewards and literary honours should be conferred on deserving students. Conformably to these sentiments, the Governor-General in Council appointed Dr. M. Lumsden and Lt. A. Galloway to be members of the Committee for the superintendence of the Madriissah.

Mr. William Scollay, Cadet, doing duty with the 1st Batt. 12th N. I. Barrackpore, writes a letter to His Excellency Lieutenant General Sir George Nugent Bart, Commander-in-Chief, in which he applies to be allowed to avail himself of the tuition given at the College of Fort William, in as much as by the abolition of the Seminary at Baraset he has been "deprived of those facilities for an acquisition of the Hindustani language which that establishment formerly afforded." Permission was accorded. Ensign Haughton made a similar request which also received sanction—also Cadet Henry Mc. Kenly. The Governor-General in Council on the 1st May, 1812, authorised a subscription on the part of Government for 100 copies of the English version of the Sanskrit Dictionary proposed to be published by Mr. Wilson in consideration of the encouragement desired by the Honourable the Court of Directors to be given to the study of Sanskrit and of the utility of the work. This was Horace Hayman Wilson's famous translation of Raghumani's Sanskrit Dictionary. The Council also recommended Mirza Kauzim Ulee's Barah Mansa or Dustoor-ool-Hind to Government for support. The Qoolyat-i-Mirza Jan Tuppish was presented by the author to the College. (Proc. 30. 5. 12). He received a reward of 200. Lieutenant Lockett returned from Arabia at the end of June and Lieutenant Roebuck's services to the College ceased from the 22nd June, 1812. Two more military students, Lieutenants Ayton and Exshaw, were admitted in July, but the Council recommended that no more similar applications should be entertained as the College had now as many as the Professors could teach. Lieutenant Galloway having been appointed Agent for the manufacture of Gunpowder at Allahabad, Lieutenant Roebuck was appointed Assistant to the Secretary and Examiner to the College of Fort William from 12th July, 1812. He at once reported upon the progress made with Dr. Hunter's Dictionary and asked for a continuance of the allowance for the Maulvis and writers engaged on it for another year. The Government, however, decided to await Dr. Hunter's return previously to deciding on the necessity for this step. On the 5th June, Dr. Lumsden wrote a long letter to the Council on the question of the continuance or otherwise of the Shah Nama, the first volume of which had at length been deposited in the College Library. 500 copies had been printed at a cost of 7747 rupees of which 5000 rupees had been already advanced. The question was referred to the Governor-General in Council who decided that in view of the recent remarks of the Court of Directors, and the disapprobation they expressed, the further publication of the Shah Nama was undesirable, and it must be abandoned pending reference to the Court of Directors. Lieutenant Lockett on the 11th August, submitted a claim for 6153 rupees which he had actually lost by the arrangements made for the performance of the duties during his absence from the 24th December, 1810 to the

22nd June, 1812. In the course of this letter he offers an explanation of the chapter of accidents which led to his prolonging his leave beyond the twelve months originally granted him. Delay of various kinds, stress of weather, inability to procure passage, pirates in the Persian Gulf necessitating an overland journey of 1200 miles to Bagdad, prevented his arrival at Ispahan before the 17th July. From thence he sought to proceed to Bagdad hoping to reach there by the end of August but was forbidden to proceed by Sir Gore Ouseley, His Majesty's Ambassador at the Persian Court, on account of the hostilities which had broken out in Turkish Koordistan. He was accordingly obliged to retrace his steps and reached Busheer on the 6th September. He was loath to return to India without accomplishing at least a part of his original programme. He determined therefore to proceed, and embarked on an Arab Buglah for Bussorah, where he arrived on the 22nd September. Being disappointed there in his search he set out for Bagdad by the river Tigris, but was attacked on the way by a body of Arabs and after having narrowly escaped with his life was obliged to return to Bussorah, a distance of nearly 200 miles. Here he remained three days and made another venture to reach Bagdad, this at last he effected on the 14th of October after travelling over part of the Arabian Desert, Chaldea and Mesopotamia and "encountering on the way every sort of distress, fatigue and peril." He remained at Bagdad studying till the 22nd of January, 1812, when he left for India, but being delayed at Bassorah till the 26th March, he arrived at Bombay on the 27th April, finally reaching Calcutta on the 22nd June, 1812. Lieutenant Lockett represented the hardships he had undergone on his literary journey, and while not asking for any reward prayed for an exemption from actual loss by deductions made from his salary. His expenses had been heavy, far exceeding the amount of his full salary for the time he had been absent. "I have kept," he says, "in my employ for the last year a learned Arab of Bagdad, on a salary of 200 rupees a month, besides a native of this country who accompanied me on an allowance of 100 rupees more. All these expenses, I am aware might have been avoided by remaining in India, but I should in that case have been deprived of the means of prosecuting other objects which I still think of higher consideration, and which I had always conceived to be intimately connected with the interests of this Institution. The Council in forwarding Lieutenant Lockett's address "for the consideration of Government, recommended that he should be reimbursed to the extent of 3083 rupees the actual loss sustained by him by the reduction of his salary for seven months twentytwo days from the 9th March to 1st November, 1811, from 800 to 400 rupees per mensem. This amount was refunded by order of Government. Shaikh Ahmud, the editor of the "Nufhutool-Yumun" and "Ikhwanoos-Safa" was now permitted to publish a selection from the Ulf-Luelu, Government subscribing for 100 copies (25th September, 1812). On October 8, 1812 Dr. Carey informed the College Council that Mr. H. T. Colebrooke had generously offered to leave his whole library of Sanskrit books, with the exception of two or three, in Dr. Carey's care, in order that they might be copied for the College Library on condition that when copied they should be sent to him in England, free of expense. Dr. Carey earnestly entreated the Council to avail themselves of this offer. The Council called upon him

for an estimate of the probable cost, when Dr. Carey replied that no expense would be incurred beyond the 150 rupees a month already allowed and the cost of removing, packing, and transmitting the books to England. The death of Dr. Leyden, during 1812, called forth a most feeling allusion to him from Lord Minto at the public disputations held on the 30th September, 1812.

A public letter from the Honourable Court of Directors dated 14th February, 1812 called attention to the want of discipline commonly reported to exist in the College of Fort William and the prevalence of dissipation and extravagance among the students. They hinted that if these rumours were true, abolition of the College would become necessary, and called for an immediate report upon the state of the College from the Council as regards the standard of proficiency attained by the students as well as their habits. The Council called upon the Examiners to report in detail upon the standards of the qualifying examinations and of that for the degree of honour, and while adverting to the opinion expressed as to the decline of scholarship in the College asked the Examiners to express an opinion as to the causes of such decline, if it really existed. Dr. Carey replied recommending the raising of both standards, and attributing the falling off to laziness and neglect of attendance on lectures. Mr. Lumsden boldly attributed the want of success to the attitude adopted towards the College by the Court of Directors who tolerated rather than cherished it. When this evil is corrected he considers there will be no difficulty in establishing an effective system of discipline. The distribution, both of rewards and punishments, he regarded as very unequal, and proposed several new regulations to enforce the necessary disciplinary system he advocated. Without such discipline the raising of the general standard of proficiency would be impossible. Captain Taylor was of opinion that as regards Hindustani the standard had never been higher, but he lamented the want of consideration shewn to the Hindustani instruction in Hertford College, where it was treated with something like contempt. Captain Lockett owing to his absence from the last two examinations (1811 and 1812) did not feel competent to give an opinion as to the comparative condition of learning in the College. He stated that a general opinion was abroad among the students that the College was to be abolished and that linguistic acquirements would be no longer demanded. He also adverts to the paramount necessity of a system of restraint and discipline if the objects of the College are to be fully released.

Mr. Roebuck also lays stress in his reply upon the prevalent idea that the College was to be abolished, and this idea, he was sure, was answerable for the inattention to lectures of many students. He evidently was not much impressed with the instruction in oriental languages imparted at Hertford College and says that everything shows that it is to the Fort William College alone that we must look for any great progress in the oriental languages.

The Council, in their reply, reviewed the history of the College from its foundation: the provisions for control of the students at its first inception, including the public table, which they consider by excluding students from general society; led to habits of emulation in dissipation and extravagance. They praised highly the conduct of the students who had passed through the College at Hertford, and thought that



the excellence of their behaviour could be no accidental circumstance. They did not consider that the abolition of the College would in any way remedy the dissipated tendencies of those students who had given way to them, while on the other hand the College had remedied the injurious influences to which writers were exposed in Calcutta before its institution. Then they could be indolent without attracting attention, now if indolent their indolence attracted public notice and could be remedied. Taking everything into consideration the Council were satisfied that the junior servants of the Company could not pass the first twelve months of their service in India more profitably for themselves or the public service, than at the College. On the question of the state of learning in the College the Council guided by the Reports of the Professors and Examiners could not admit that there had been any sensible decline in the general proficiency of the students. In conclusion, they trust they have shewn that the dissipation complained of is more imaginary than real and that there has been no such failure in the efficiency of the institution as to require the Honourable Court entirely to supersede the College by that at Hertford. They point out forcibly the impossibility of obtaining in England the advantages enjoyed in India for studying the oriental languages. This in fact was proved by the result of the examinations of the Hertford College students upon joining the College of Fort William. Should it be decided to maintain the College they "are persuaded that the Honourable Court by communicating the assurance of their decided support to the Institution will take one of the most effectual measures that can be adopted for maintaining its future energy."

A number of Hindustani books were called for from the College of Fort William in October, 1812, for supply of the requirements of the College of Fort St. George. A reprint of the East Indian Guide prepared by Dr. Gilchrist was considered advisable if it could be arranged for. Special orders were issued by the Government of Fort St. George for the encouragement of the junior officers of the military and medical services sanctioning the issue to them of Hindustani books from the Board of Superintendence of the College of Fort St. George. This order was made applicable to senior officers on the special recommendation of the Commander-in-Chief. A fount of Persian types was also purchased for the College of Fort St. George. The Board also applied to Government for a list of all Telugu works published at the Fort William College.

On the 15th November, 1812, Captain John Briggo wrote to the Secretary of the College of Fort William from Jauluah, with reference to his translation of Ferishta's last volume of the History of India. He states he has compared Dow's and Johnathan Scott's Histories with Ferishta's text and finds them very unsatisfactory. He says "with such materials as a basis I have it in contemplation at some future time to write the "History of the Rise of the Mahomadan Empire in India." Captain Briggo asks to be allowed the assistance of the College Library. The Council reply that they will grant Captain Briggo access to such books in the College Library as he may require. Lieutenant Roebuck was suffering from fever early in January, 1813 and for two months' sick leave to go either to sea or up the river. His certificate is signed by R. Keys, M. D., Presidency Surgeon.

Mr. Lewis F. Smith on the 6th January, 1813, approached the Council with a proposal to publish the text of the Bagh-o-Bahar with his translation and notes, but the Council after consulting the Hindustani Professor (Captain Taylor) declined to subscribe although Captain Taylor was of opinion that the book was the most valuable class book and ought not to be allowed to go out of print. He did not, however, think a translation would be useful. On the 17th February, the Council recommended Government to give the usual subscription for 100 copies of a new edition of the Bagh-o-Bahar published by Ghulam Akbar, one of the College Munshis, at a cost of 1800 sicca rupees. In March, 1813 subscription was also given to an Arabic Miscellany to be prepared by Shaikh Ahmud in prose and verse (Hideekutool Afrah).

Pages 381-389 Proceedings Vol. 4, are occupied with a list of oriental works printed at the expense of Government or the publication of which has been encouraged by a subscription on the part of Government since the Institution of the College of Fort William. Lieutenant Lockett in submitting this list points out that it has been possible in every case to give the cost of printing several of the books, owing to particulars of the expenditure of sums paid in the aggregate not having been entered in the Cash Books. The sum total given amounts to 2,64,106-6-1.

Pages 390 to 411 are occupied with descriptive notes of each of the works mentioned in the foregoing list.

Dr. Hunter's death occurred at some period between October, 1812 and March, 1813.

On the 17th March, 1813, Captain Taylor, Professor of Hindustani, applies to the College Council to allow him to edit the new edition of the late Dr. Hunter's "Hindustani Dictionary" from the materials which are amongst Dr. Hunter's papers which he was prepared to purchase if they were not public property. In reply, the Council while commending Captain Taylor's public spirit and zeal for oriental learning and the reputation of the College, thought it was advisable to postpone the question for the present. The reason for this appears in a letter written on the 25th March, 1813, by Lieutenant Roebuck on his return from sick leave stating that he stands publicly pledged to Dr. Hunter and the College Council for the publication of Dr. Hunter's Hindustani Dictionary. Lieutenant Roebuck quotes an extract from Dr. Hunter's letter to the College Council, dated 9th March, 1811, in support of his claim.

Mr. Mathew Lumsden in April, 1813, wrote to the College Council advocating the appointment of a Medical Officer to attend the officers of the College citing the case of two of those officers whose lives had been sacrificed to unskilled medical attendance. In Dr. Hunter's time, Mr. Lumsden says, there was no difficulty as he was always ready to give his advice and assistance but since his death there is no one to apply to in cases of serious illness. The Governor-General, however, refused to sanction such an appointment.

The first two officers to obtain the reward of 5000 rupees offered by Government for proficiency in either Arabic or Sanskrit were—

Mr. J. C. C. Sutherland	...	...	...	in Sanskrit.
Mr. T. Prinsep	...	...	...	in Arabic.

The decease of Maulvi Meer Ubdoor Ulec, one of the Native Assistants in the oriental department at the East India College on the 13th October, 1812 was notified to the College Council in public letters, dated 4th November, 1812. It was not proposed to supply his place.

H. H. Wilson applied for subscription to his poetical translation of the "Megha Duta" on the 7th June, 1813. He proposed to print the text with the translation. The Governor-General authorised subscription for 100 copies.

Shaikh Ahmud's book of Arabic correspondence, entitled the "Ujubool-Oojah" was completed and received into the College Library in July, 1813. As the period of three years, for which he had been originally appointed, was fast expiring, Mr. Lumsden recommended to the Council that Shaikh Ahmad should be permanently appointed to the Arabic Establishment at a salary of 100 rupees a month. Upon the strong recommendation of the Council, the Governor-General in Council appointed Shaikh Ahmad as requested by Mr. Lumsden. (30th July, 1813).

Captain Roebuck in a long letter, dated 9th July, 1813, applied to the Council for help in publishing a completely new edition of Dr. Hunter's Hindustani Dictionary. He mentions that he is in possession of a complete fount of small Arabic type designed by Mr. William Martin for Dr. Wilkins, and sent out to Messrs. Palmer & Co. from whom he had purchased it. He had also written to England for a corresponding Roman type. These two had cost together 2000 rupees.

He asks for a grant of 100 rupees a month for one year, the period within which he hopes to have the work ready for the Press, and asks also that Government will subscribe for 100 copies at the usual rate. This request was submitted to Government with the recommendation of the Council on the 22nd July. On the 2nd August, Dr. Hunter's Executors, Messrs. Imlack and Guttenden & Co. wrote to Government claiming the manuscript materials for the Dictionary as part of Dr. Hunter's Estate and asking Government to purchase them. Should Government decline to purchase, the Executors would wish to take other measures for the disposal of the property as might be most beneficial to the interests of the concerned under the late Dr. Hunter's will.

Captain Roebuck objected to this and claimed that, he was by arrangement with Dr. Hunter entitled to proceed with the publication and receive all profits derived from it. Eventually as appears from the correspondence Captain Roebuck and the executors came to an agreement to this effect that the Dictionary should be published under his superintendence.

In October, 1813, Graves Chamney Haughton Ensign 1st. Batt. 2nd. Regt. N. I. proposed to compile a new Persian Dictionary. Upon the recommendation of Dr. Lumsden, Government permitted him to draw 80 rupees a month for 18 months for two learned natives to assist him in his undertaking. Ensign Haughton was one of nine young officers permitted by the Commander-in-Chief to study in the College. It was customary then for leave of absence to be granted to young officers for this purpose for six or eight months but the number was only limited in consequence of the time of the Professors being fully occupied with the regular students of the College. The Governor-General in Council in a long minute, bearing date 1st

October, 1813, recognised the urgent necessity for providing means of instruction for young officers in the native languages, and was of opinion that the College of Fort William would be the most suitable place for providing this instruction. To this end, however, an increase in the teaching staff of the College was essential and this would be attended with far less expense than the institution of a separate military College. The number of military students to be admitted was raised to twenty and two assistant professors were to be appointed "one for Arabic and Persian and the other for Sanskrit, Hindustani, Bengali and other kindred Indian languages." The military students admitted to the College will be allowed the aid of Munshis and honorary and pecuniary rewards will as at present be open to them in common with the other students of the College. The additional expense resulting from this change was to be considered a Military charge and carried to the debit of the Military Department. His Lordship in Council was of opinion that the additional expense would prove to be considerably short of the charge on account of the Establishment at Baraset which had been abolished.

The two Assistant Professors were to draw 400 rupees a month exclusive of their full military allowance in cases where the selection is made from the military branch of the service. The total expenses were estimated at 30,266 rupees annually. Captain Weston was appointed Assistant Professor of Arabic and Persian and Lieutenant Price, Assistant Professor Sanskrit, Bengali and Hindustani, each on the above allowances. The privileges of entering the College were to be enjoyed equally by Bengal, Fort St. George and Bombay Officers.

Writers' Buildings were again put under repair in November, 1813. The Native Professors of Hindustani at Hertford College seem to have been useless, as Captain Taylor, Professor of Hindustani in the College of Fort William reports in October, 1813, that "hitherto the acquisition of Hindustani seems to have been entirely neglected at Hertford" and asks for an assistant in the Hindustani Department to teach the rudiments of that language. His class, he says, consists of 34 students and will soon be largely increased. The Council forwarded Captain Taylor's application with a strong recommendation and Government sanctioned the appointment, Lieutenant Russell Martin of the 7th Regiment of Native Infantry being the first to hold the appointment. The College Council were most liberal in the assistance they afforded to young military officers by lending or even making them presents of such books as they were in need of and could not afford to purchase.

Early in 1814, the Professors Messrs. Carey, Lumsden and Taylor submitted to the Council modifications which seemed to them desirable to be introduced in the regulations for the admission of military officers as students in the College. They proposed (1) that an examination of all officers desirous of joining the College should be held and admission regulated by the results of such examination; (2) that they should be put on exactly the same footing as other students with regard to lectures, examinations and eligibility for prizes. Even though the military students would be selected body of students whereas the civil students were promiscuously admitted without examination. (3) Rigid enforcement of disciplinary measures: they considered that the system in force of punishing idlers by detaining them for years perhaps at the

College was radically bad, leading them into habits of idleness, dissipation and debt. They advocated a return to the original system of expulsion. (4) The abolition of the system of permanent establishment of Munshis, a system which encouraged the idle among them. (5) They also asked for the reinstitution of two vacations of one month each as at the original foundation of the College. These vacations were abolished in the year 1806 by Statute.

These alterations were embodied in the Fourth Chapter of Statutes published July 1, 1814.

Upon the decision to abandon the Shah Nama before referred to, the manuscript lent to Dr. Lumsden by the Nawab Vizier 28 in number were returned together with an elegantly bound copy of the only volume which had been published. On the 28th January, 1814, Dr. Carey submits a list of Sanskrit works copied under his superintendence for the Honourable Court of Directors; V. Proc. 54, 55. Mr. Lumsden again brought forward the question of appointment of a medical man to attend the native officers of the College (9th March, 1814) but the Council felt compelled to decline to forward the letter to Government. On the 31st March, Mr. Atkinson submitted to the Council a specimen of a free translation of the story of Sohrab, which he proposed to publish with the Persian text and asked for the support of the Government which was given on the recommendation of the College Council.

In May, the Bombay Government made an application from one of their Surgeons, Dr. Kennedy, the text of a general request for the admission of Bombay Government Servants to participation in the privileges of the Fort William College. The Governor-General in Council, however, did not think expedient to comply.

In consequence of the representation by a military student of his inability to afford the purchase of the books necessary to his course of study in the College, the Council represented to Government the necessity for supplying books on loan to students and this was sanctioned, subject to their becoming liable to pay the value of any such book lost or destroyed by them. On the 6th June, 1814 the Asiatic Society by their Secretary, Mr. H. H. Wilson forwarded a set of the Asiatick Researches, containing eleven volumes for the use of the College Library. In return, the Council presented the Asiatic Society with copies of all the works published since the former presentation in April 4, 1810 (List on pp. 149, 150 Proc. V.).

The military students were allowed to occupy quarters in Fort William, free of charge, but on the 9th June, 1814, they addressed a letter to the Secretary of the College Council asking to be allowed the house rent of their rank as they found the life in barracks extremely opposed to every kind of mental application. Their request was not complied with, on economical grounds. The publication by Captain Roebuck of the "Khirad Afroz" was sanctioned by Government on the 16th September, 1814. Captain Lockett applied for leave to England in October, 1814, in order to put through the press his work in Persia and Arabia embodying the account of his recent travels. He also pleaded his bad state of health. The Council recommended his being granted the eighteen months' leave asked for. A further letter from Captain Lockett states his desire of presenting to the University of Dublin a copy of all the oriental works published under the patronage of the College of Fort William since its founda-

tion. Some of these he had obtained by purchase but others were not of print and could only be obtained from the College Library. These books the Council of the College presented to Captain Lockett on the 19th December, 1814.

Pages 266 to 277 inclusive of Vol. V. Proceedings are occupied with a list of manuscripts purchased by Captain Lockett in Persia and Arabia for the College (See Appendix C. Bibliography) at a cost of 3977 sicca rupees. On the 29th November, 1814, Dr. Lumsden also applied for leave for 12 months supporting his application by a medical certificate. Dr. Lumsden had had no leave during the thirteen years he had been attached to the College and wished to proceed to the Cape of Good Hope, embarking on the "Orient" on the 7th January, 1815. The leave was granted and Major Weston, Assistant Professor, was appointed to act for Dr. Lumsden. Dr. Lumsden was granted full pay and allowances during this leave (Letter dated 13th December, 1814). The College Council at the request of Government to nominate a successor to Major Weston, selected Ensign David Bryce, but apparently this officer's services were not available.

It appears that there was no Scotch Church in Calcutta at this period and a committee had been appointed to report upon the measures necessary for appointing a Minister of the Church of Scotland to perform the Divine Service at the Presidency. The committee reported that they were proceeding to ascertain as nearly as possible the extent of congregation for whom it will be required to erect a church but that they were of opinion that it would be expedient in the meantime to provide a temporary place of worship and that the Hall of the College appeared to be in every respect suited to the purpose. The College Council raised no objection provided the arrangement did not interfere with the business of the College.

Mr. Haughton intimated to the Council his inability to proceed for the present with his Persian Dictionary on account of his departure for Europe for the recovery of his health. He reports having made a very considerable progress in the fourteen months during which he had been engaged upon this work.

On the 3rd January, 1815, Captain Roebuck was appointed to officiate as Secretary during Captain Lockett's absence or until further orders, and Mr. James Atkinson was appointed Assistant Secretary and Examiner during the same period. In as much as the duties of this appointment included teaching, Mr. Atkinson endeavoured to avoid undertaking the full duties, pleading interference with his official engagement at the Mint. He expressed his willingness to perform the duties of the Assistant Secretary but wished another gentleman to be appointed to the office of Examiner. He would be willing to give up 300 rupees of the 800 rupees attached to the combined offices. Neither the College Council nor the Government would hear of this, but as Mr. Atkinson was inflexible in his resolve not to undertake any work of instruction, the Council refused to admit him and reported this fact to Government. They recommended that the office should be left vacant for the present and its salary of 800/- be applied as follows:—400/- rupees to Major Weston whilst acting as Arabic and Persian Professor in addition to his salary as assistant professor and the remaining 400/- to a competent person who might be employed to officiate as assistant professor in the Persian language. In the meantime Mr. Atkinson had been relieved of his

duties at the Mint and Government in a letter of the 28th February, 1815, conclude that no objections now exist on the part of Mr. Atkinson to perform all the duties of the office of Assistant Secretary and Examiner and consequently no orders need be passed. 400/- a month extra allowance was sanctioned to Major Weston as officiating professor.

Lieutenant Price, Assistant Professor of Sanskrit and Bengali at this time February, 1815, submitted for the approval of the College Council a dictionary of the "Prem Sagar" which he had prepared. Government subscribed for 100 copies.

Dr. Carey's "Batrish Singhasan" was also received in the same month. Ensign Bryce had been appointed acting assistant Professor of Arabic and Persian, but as his services were urgently required in the field, Lieutenant Coulthard, who was then studying in the College was appointed Assistant Professor of Persian in the place of Ensign Bryce, whose services were asked for from the C. in C. as soon as he could be spared.

The house occupied by the College being found in many respects inconvenient, it was notified to Messrs. Fairlie Fergusson & Co. that it would be relinquished at the end of April and at the same time Government were asked to sanction the Council's taking the house occupied by the Military Paymaster General for the purpose of the College. Sanction was accorded to this proposal (P.L. dated 21. 2. 1815).

The Court of Directors in a letter dated 22nd July, 1814, ordered the discontinuance of the rewards of money for proficiency in oriental languages, considering that the Honorary Prizes of Medals and Books together with the improved prospects of promotion afforded them by their passing in the languages were "a sufficient incitement to study and application."

The Council recommended to Government that this order should be held in abeyance for a certain period, in justice to those civil servants, who on the faith of the orders of the 10th April, 1812 had incurred expense in acquiring the languages. The Council further recommended that for the future a Degree of Honour in two languages at least should be demanded as the qualification for appointment to the post of Examiner, and in the case of Professor or Assistant Professor the qualification required should be a Degree of Honour in the particular language or languages to be taught by them. The Vice-President in Council declined to accept the latter suggestion, and replied that each case of a civil servant claiming to be indemnified for the expense incurred in acquiring the languages in which they had attained proficiency, must be considered on its own merits. Mr. Stuart in his minute of 24th June, 1815, pressed for the resubmission of the proposal regarding the minimum qualification considering that Government had misconceived the intention of the College Council. Mr. Harington considered that the best means of securing the efficiency of Professors and Examiners would be by inserting a rule in the Statutes to the effect proposed.

Mr. Fombelle urged the submission to Government of the minutes written by Messrs. Stuart and Harington. The proposal was finally adopted (P.L. 4th July, 1815) and a rule enacted in the Statutes of 1816. (Fifth chapter of Statutes para : V.) Government at this time (28th February, 1815) presented Dr. Marshman with a donation of 8000 sicca rupees in consideration of his zealous exertions in promoting

a knowledge of the Chinese Language and Literature by the publication of his Grammar of the Chinese Language and at the same time took fifteen copies of the work of which 10 were to be sent to the Honourable Court of Directors and 5 were to be retained in the Fort William College.

Mr. Roebuck having been asked by the Council of the College exactly when his edition of Hunter's Hindustani and English Dictionary would be finished replied that the state of his health and the want of leisure from official duties rendered it exceedingly difficult to comply with their request. He hoped, however, to be able to complete the work within two years, and the grant of 100/- a month was recommended to Government for continuance for that period.

Five hundred copies of Morrison's Chinese Grammar, printed at the Serampore Press, were supplied to the College in September, 1815, and 40 of these were sent to the Court of Directors.

The Court of Directors in a public letter, dated 19th May, 1815, directed the discontinuance of the system under which military students were admitted to the College. Their orders were based upon two grounds, the extra expenditure involved and the alleged extravagant habits of the students. The Governor-General (Lord Moira) was unwilling to suspend the operation of the system and consequently called upon the College Council for a statement as to extra expenditure and for a full investigation as to the alleged habits of extravagance among the students.

The Accountant-General (Mr. W. Egerton) was accordingly asked to furnish a report of the expenses incurred on account of the Military Department of the College from the time they were first incurred and also to state in what degree the charges of the Civil Department of the College have fallen short of the annual amount of one lakh and fifty thousand rupees.

The Accountant-General's report shewed that the total disbursements on account of the College at Fort William for the three years 1812/13, 1813/14 and 1814/15 amounted to Sicca Rupees 5,82,266-11-9, and the total disbursements on account of the Military Department for the years 1813/14 and 1814/15 (under the order of Government dated 1st October, 1813) including a military charge incurred in the year 1813/14 previous to the operation of those orders, amounted to Sicca Rupees 51,427-9-7. Certain items were included in this which were not properly chargeable to the expenditure on account of the College. Deducting these the average of the three years was found to be 1,51,504 rupees. The excess expenditure was due to several causes namely an under-estimate of the salaries of the Professors and other European Officers of the College which was originally estimated at 66,000 but in the year 1812/13 amounted to 69,683 owing to an extra charge caused by the absence of Lieutenant Lockett. Again it had been estimated that it would not be necessary to provide for the house rent of students, but the number of students having been more than could be accommodated in Writers' Buildings, an extra charge on this account was of necessity incurred amounting to 10,000/- nearly in the three years. Further, in the year 1813, the system of money prizes which had been discontinued in 1806 was again revived leading to an increased payment of in round numbers 17,500 Rupees. The increased number of students necessitated a corresponding increase in the establishment of



Native Teachers with the result that the 51000 rupees allotted to this head of expenditure was exceeded by 5000/- in 1812/13, by 6000/- in 1813/14 and by 8000/- in 1814/15. The allowance of 20,000/- for "contingent expense" had however not been exceeded, in fact the actual expenditure on this head had been considerably less than the estimate namely 13,000, 9000 and 11,000/- in the three years respectively. The Secretary to the College Council in furnishing a list of the Military students admitted to the College reported that their conduct had been uniformly satisfactory as might have been expected in the circumstances under which they were admitted to the benefits of the College and in not one single instance had occurred to warrant the supposition that any one of them was given to habits of extravagance or guilty of any irregularity of conduct whatever.

On the 17th January, 1816, Dr. Lumsden reported his return from leave to the Cape of Good Hope and resumed his post as Arabic and Persian Professor at the College. In consequence of Dr. Lumsden's return, the services of Lt. Coulthard were no longer required. The Council acknowledged the able and satisfactory discharge of his duties in notifying to Government the necessity for dispensing with his services.

This explanatory statement by the College Council would they hoped satisfactorily account for the small surplus of disbursement in the three years named. Their statement went on to shew that the average expenditure on account of the admission of military students was only Rs. 30,520/- per annum whereas the sanctioned estimate for 20 military students annexed to the Resolution of Government passed on the 1st October, 1813, was Rs. 30,266/-.

By general orders of 7th February, 1814, the number of military students was increased to 30, and 27 were actually admitted in 1814, in addition to 8 admitted in the two preceding years, thus bringing the total number in that year to 35. The College Council further expressed their regret that the Honourable Court of Directors had judged it proper to direct the "immediate discontinuance and entire abolition of the Military Department of the College." This letter dated the 30th January, 1816 is well worth perusal in its entirety. It is to be found in Council Proceedings of 12th Feby. 1816. Reference is made in it to the Discourse of the Acting Visitor at the Public Disputation held in July, 1815, (See Roebuck's Annals pp. 470 &c.) on the benefits of the College, with reference to the allegations of reckless extravagance on the part of the students and his concluding statement that instances of deviation from the maxims and rules of prudence were exceptions to the general system of conduct observable among the students of the College. The Council strongly represented the desirability of continuing the Military Department of the College and with a view to provide funds for this purpose recommended the discontinuance of the rewards of 1000/- for high proficiency continuing only the honorary rewards of medals and Degrees of Honour, not because the money reward could be considered in any way disproportionate to the labour involved in obtaining the certificate, but having regard to the urgent necessity for reducing the total expenditure of the College. They conclude by heartily commending the Assistant Professor Major Weston and Lieutenants Price and Martin, whose services must be dispensed with if the Military Department is finally abolished.

The Governor-General, in replying to this report, expressed his satisfaction at the proofs afforded that the objections urged by the Honourable Court of Directors were based upon misapprehension and hoped that it would be found possible to maintain the Military Department without exceeding the total amount originally sanctioned for the expenses of the College. His Lordship in Council adverted to the necessity for having a regular supply of officers well qualified to supply the place of Professors in the College, in cases of vacancy and considered it would be improvident to subject a Public Institution like the College of Fort William entirely to the operations of chance in the provision of officers to fill its highest situations in the three principal Departments of Oriental learning. With a view to provide funds for the maintenance of the Military Department, His Lordship in Council suggested the abolition of book prizes, confining the awards to medals alone. Also to abolish the reward of Rs. 1000/- for the Degree of Honour. The number of military students was to be reduced to ten, and their period of study limited to one year. Their studies were also to be restricted to Persian and Hindee or Bruj Bhakha, Arabic and Sanskrit being excluded as not of practical value for the purpose of Interpreters in the Company's army. By this arrangement the disbursement would be reduced to 5000 rupees annually distributed as follows: Tén Munshis at 30/- a month each, 3600/- rupees and twenty medals per annum 1400/- rupees. In this way it was considered possible to maintain the Military Department, and the Council of the College were directed to report on this suggestion. Their report is embodied in a lengthy letter, dated May 16, 1816, and virtually substitutes a complete re-arrangement of the College establishment with a view to bring the estimated expenditure within the required limits. Accompanying this report is a long letter from Captain Roebuck protesting against the abolition of his appointment. (Captain Roebuck's letter is well worth reading as an exposition of the important nature of the duties performed by the Assistant Secretary and Public Examiner—it is too long to quote in full and extracts would give an imperfect idea of its contents). His letter gives a very full account of the various services performed by Captain Roebuck. Major Weston was obliged to apply for ten months' leave to proceed to the Cape of Good Hope on account of ill health in April, 1816. Mr. Atkinson was appointed to officiate as Assistant Professor of Arabic and Persian *vice* Major Weston. At the end of April, however, Mr. Atkinson's acting appointment (of which Captain Roebuck was the permanent incumbent) as Assistant Secretary and Examiner was abolished by the order of the Court of Directors and accordingly Mr. Atkinson was directed to hand over charge of the Junior Persian classes to Dr. Lumsden. The Council also recommended the appointment of an Officiating Assistant Professor during the absence of Major Weston, as Dr. Lumsden's duties were already sufficiently onerous. The Council in a long report upon the suggestion of the Governor-General in Council above referred to deprecate the abolition of the appointment of Assistant Secretary and Examiner pointing out the important duties of the Secretary and the necessity of an Assistant Secretary to carry on the work of the office in case of the illness or other incapacitation of the Secretary: the most important duty, however, of this Assistant Secretary was that of Public Examiner the other function being subsidiary. (See Statutes 1814 Sec. 24). They also recommended the formation of committees of examination in each

language by uniting one or more public examiners with the Professors and Assistant Professors of the several languages. As it could not reasonably be expected that any one person holding the situation of Secretary should be competent to perform the duty of Examiner in all the languages which are studied in the College of Fort William, the Council recommended the continuance of the office of Second Examiner. As a matter of fact Captain Roebuck had done everything which could be expected of one person by qualifying himself to examine in four languages *viz.*, Hindustani, Persian, Arabic and Bruj-Bhakha, and yet it had been found necessary to employ the Sanskrit and Bengali Professor to examine the students in those languages. They finally recommended the re-establishment of the office of Assistant Secretary and Examiner with the provision that "that officer should at all times be qualified to examine in at least three of the six languages which are taught in the College." The paramount necessity of having examiners who are not also professors is strongly urged. In a letter, dated the 22nd June, 1816, the Governor-General in Council accepted the views of the College Council and was pleased to order the supervision of the abolition of the office of Asst. Secretary and Examiner pending reference to the Honourable Court of Directors on the subject. Mr. Atkinson was also reappointed as Asst. Professor of Persian during Major Weston's absence.

In March, 1816 Captain Roebuck submitted to the Council a proposal to publish a work containing an account of the Annual Disputations, together with an alphabetical list of all the students, civil and military, and a list of all the works in oriental languages and literature, printed under the patronage of the College of Fort William. The edition was to consist of 500 copies at 16/- a copy, but its publication was to be contingent upon a subscription on the part of Government for at least 100 copies. The Council recommended this to Government who, however, regretted their inability to subscribe to the publication, "being precluded under the tenour of the instructions from the Honourable the Court of Directors." This was the first proposal regarding the Annals of the College eventually published by Captain Roebuck in 1819.

Dr. Lumsden replying to an enquiry made by the College Council by direction of the Honourable Court of Directors as to the terms upon which he would undertake to complete recension of the Shah Nama, engaged to complete the manuscript in five or six years provided he was granted an establishment of four maulvis and a transcriber at a cost of 240/- per mensem. The succeeding volumes were to be provided with notes and the work was to include a life of the author and an ample glossary of obsolete terms. Dr. Lumsden while declining to undertake the work without remuneration, committed himself entirely to the liberality of Government or of the Honourable Court of Directors provided that the principle of remuneration was admitted. In a further communication Dr. Lumsden estimated the total cost at 17280 rupees and asked for 12000/- for himself as remuneration inclusive of cost of paper the whole estimate was 30,000 rupees. This reply was submitted to the Honourable the Court of Directors by Government (22nd June, 1816). In June of this year Mr. H. H. Wilson reported to the College Council the completion of the first part of his Sanskrit and English Dictionary and asked Government for an advance of their promised subscription to the extent of 3750/- rupees, which was granted.

A list of vacant appointments for Assistants in the various Civil Departments was sent to the College in order that qualified students might select those to which they would prefer to be appointed (July 13, 1816).

Captain Lockett returned from leave in September, 1816 and replaced Captain Roebuck as Secretary to the College Council and Examiner in October of that year. Captain Roebuck reverting to his position as Asst. Secretary and 2nd Public Examiner. In November, 1816, Mr. E. Strettell presented to the College Library an old and valuable edition of Aristotle's works.

On the 23rd December, 1816, Captain Lieutenant Runck Martin resigned the office of Asst. Professor of Hindustani on the ground of his health which necessitated his immediate return to Europe. Captain Roebuck applied to succeed Captain Martin pending the receipt of definite orders from the Court of Directors upon his present situation as Examiner. Lieutenant Bryce (6th Regt.) also applied for the appointment, as did also Lieutenant J. A. Ayton (doing duty at Nepal). In the result Captain Roebuck was appointed to officiate as Asst. Professor of Hindustani and Mr. Atkinson was appointed to officiate as Examiner. Early in 1817, Captain Roebuck published the *Burhan-i-Quati* and 40 copies were taken by order of the College Council.

Captain Lockett (January 7, 1817) applied for three months' leave on urgent private affairs to Ceylon. This was granted and Captain Roebuck was appointed to officiate as Secretary during Captain Lockett's absence. At page 316 Proceedings Vol. 6, is a list of books purchased by Captain Lockett for the purpose of being deposited in the College of Fort William Library. These purchases were made with the sanction of the Honourable Court of Directors. (Vide Public Letter, dated 12th June, 1816).

Major Weston in January, 1817 wrote applying for an extension of six months' leave to remain at the Cape in consequence of his state of health. The medical certificate states that he is suffering from a chronic liver complaint. This leave was granted in a letter, dated 7th April, 1817. The rule in force as regards allowances while on sick-leave was that the allowance granted to the substitute was deducted from the salary of the absentee.

On the 3rd April, 1817, the Secretary to the College Council addressed a letter to Government suggesting the removal of the College of Fort William from its present house to "a large house of three stories belonging to a native named Bishwambhar Haldar and recently occupied by the Court of Sudder Dewanny and Nizamut Adawlat which appears better calculated for the purposes of the College than the present one." The rent was 450/- a month including taxes, on a lease of three years. This was sanctioned and was to take effect from July 1, 1817. The house was situated in Chowringhee (page 357 Proc. Vol. 6).

Captain Lockett returned from leave in April 19, 1817, and relieved Captain Roebuck.

In April, 1817, in response to an appeal from Dr. Wallich, Surgeon, Salt Agency, 24-Parganas, a present of books from the College of Fort William Library was made to the University of Copenhagen which had been greatly impoverished by the

calamitous war in which Denmark had then recently been involved. 158 volumes, a list of which is given at page 63 of the Library Letter Book, were ordered by the Governor-General in Council to be presented to the University of Copenhagen in the name of the Honourable the East India Company.

In May, Shaikh Ahmad's printed Edition of the "Qamoos" was received and highly approved.

An interesting letter from Captain Lockett, dated 23rd May, 1817, reports to the College Council the fact that in purchasing books for the Library, the writer had exceeded the original sanctioned estimate of £600 by no less a sum than £866-13-0. The letter explains how this occurred and asks for an order of Government sanctioning the payment of the balance of £834-5-6 still due.

A letter from Captain Lockett to the Honourable Court of Directors bearing date, Albany, 15th January, 1816 appears to be the original application for sanction to these purchases which is conveyed in a letter from the Secretary, dated East India House, 27th January, 1816. Sanction to the payment of the sum of Sicca Rs. 6674-3-2 the equivalent of £834-5-6 to Captain Lockett was conveyed in a letter from Government, dated 7th June, 1817.

At this time also sanction was accorded to a proposal by the College Council to publish for general information a correct catalogue of the books in the College Library and to render the Library accessible to the public under proper rules.

The Revd. I. L. Loring, M. A. presented to the Library a "valuable copy of the "Vulgate" for which he received the thanks of the College Council.

Sanction was also given by the Vice-President in Council to the subscription for a hundred copies of an edition of the "Life of Tymur" by Ibu Arabshah to be prepared by Shaikh Ahmad (18th July, 1817). Dr. M. Lumsden, Professor of Persian and Arabic in the College presented to the Library a copy of Milton's "Paradise Lost" in the Dutch Language.

In 1817, Mir Hassan Ali was invalided and allowed a pension of 100 rupees a month for life with effect from the 25th March, 1817. The Court of Directors in their public letter of the 26th March, 1817, express their satisfaction with the manner in which the Maulvi had discharged his duties of "Assistant Teacher of the Oriental Languages at the Military Seminary" and addressing "Our Governor-General in Council at Fort William in Bengal" sign themselves "Your affectionate friends" which strikes one at this time as a quaint mode of expression for an official document. Mir Hassan Ali arrived at Calcutta in September, 1817, and was granted 700 rupees for his journey to Lucknow which was to occupy three months. His request was also granted for a Police peon to accompany him as escort "as he was a married man." This latter order was, however, subsequently cancelled and the Maulvi was left to the tender mercies of his wife.

The greatest difficulty was experienced at this time in obtaining from native artificers skilled in cutting Chinese types, to proceed to Macao in the service of Government. At last Dr. Marshman succeeded in obtaining four Musalmans who consented to learn the work and proceed to Macao for a salary of 600 rupees a year. By the order of Government two only were engaged.

Mr. R. T. Glyn presented to the Library of the College a copy of the Leyden Catalogue of manuscripts. (24th December, 1817).

Captain Roebuck was compelled to take sick leave in January, 1818, in consequence of "bilious remittent fever" for which he was ordered to go to the Sandheads for three weeks or a month. Captain Taylor was appointed to officiate (23rd Jany., 1818). Captain Roebuck reported his return on the 9th March and resumed his office in the College.

Major Weston also returned from leave on the 18th March and relieved Mr. Atkinson as Assistant Professor on the 31st March.

In July, 1818, Captain Roebuck was again obliged to take leave for a month, Major Taylor again officiating and Major Weston applied for permission to relinquish his appointment of Assistant Professor in consequence of the Battalion to which he belonged being ordered to embark for foreign service. Mr. Atkinson applied for the vacancy thus caused but Council declined to recommend him as he had not the requisite qualifications demanded by Statutes. The applications of Lieutenant Ayton and Lieutenant Bryce were forwarded to Government, who on the 7th August, 1818, appointed Lieutenant David Bryce of the 6th Regiment Native Infantry to succeed Major Weston. Dr. Lumsden being asked by Government when the second volume of his Arabic Grammar was likely to be ready, replied in a tone of great discouragement owing to the extremely limited market for books of the kind, but expressed his readiness to proceed with the work if the Honourable Court desired.

At the end of September, 1818, Captain Lockett reported to the College Council that the Catalogue of manuscripts and printed books in the College Library upon which he had been engaged for 18 months was now printed as far as Part I was concerned, the second part being nearly ready for the press. At that time there were 8431 printed books consisting of History, Biography, Travels, Law, Divinity, Antiquities, Grammar and Lexicography, besides a choice collection of the most approved works on Classical, Biblical and Oriental Literature. Of class books and Oriental manuscripts in various languages there were 6560 of which 2994 were manuscripts. The class books here spoken of must have been included in the 8431 printed books, as in para. 4 of this letter Captain Lockett says: "The whole number therefore of printed books and manuscripts in the College Library amounts to 11,335 and may be considered on a very moderate valuation to be worth upwards of two lakhs of rupees, estimating the English collection at 50,000 rupees and the manuscripts at one lakh and fifty thousand which is certainly below their real value. In number they are far superior to any similar collection with which I am acquainted. I do not know the exact number in the Royal Library at Paris. . . . . There can be little doubt, therefore, that the Library of the College of Fort William excels almost every similar collection not only in the number but in the excellence of its volumes and that it is in every respect deserving of your most particular regard and support." Commenting upon the insufficient care bestowed upon the books, Captain Lockett put forward a proposal for a new scheme including the appointment of an Assistant Librarian to act under the Secretary and Librarian and this office he proposed Mr. Ward the Head Writer on an additional salary of 80/- a month. The Council were able to recommend

the adoption of Captain Lockett's proposals which involved an extra expenditure of 126/- a month, and suggested to Government to meet this by discontinuing the salary of Shaikh Ahmad who had accepted an appointment of 1000/- a month in Lucknow and reducing the salary of the native Assistant Moula Pershad from 40/- a month to 20/-. Government sanctioned the new arrangement with effect from the 1st October, 1818.

Mr. George Oswald was appointed an acting member of the Council of the College in consequence of Mr. Fendall's absence from the Presidency. The Honourable Court of Directors about this time called for a detailed statement of the full establishment attached to the College and of all the duties performed by the various European and Native Officers. The reports of the various Professors called for with the view of replying to this are very interesting reading and occupy from page 182 to page 260 of the Proceedings Vol 7. Captain Lockett took the opportunity to advocate the erection of a special building in place of renting the Writers' Buildings and the other houses then occupied. He pointed out that the rent paid for these was equivalent annually to the interest on  $6\frac{1}{2}$  lacs of rupees, whereas a suitable College might be erected for  $3\frac{1}{2}$  lacs inclusive of purchase of ground. He recommended a site which was available "south of the Chowringhee Theatre and immediately opposite the fives courts"—that is somewhere near the present Bishop's Palace. All the reports were summarised by the President in an able minute (p. 233 Proc. Vol. 7) for submission to Government in which he strongly advocates the provision of a permanent College Building either by building on an approved site or by transferring to the use of the College, the existing building occupied by the Court of Sudder Dewanny and Nizamut Adawlat which it was at that time proposed to remove to a more "centrical part of the country." Mr. Harington was of opinion that in either case it would be sufficient in addition to the requisite apartments for the Native Officers of the College, to provide for the Library European and Asiatic, for the lecture room of the Professors, for the public examinations and meetings of the College Council and for the office of the Secretary to the College Council." But he was of opinion that "no part of the building should be appropriable to the private accommodation of the Secretary or any other officer."

Mr. Fendall had suggested previously to his leaving Calcutta, that the two centre buildings of the Writers' Buildings should be given up and converted into a College Library and Lecture rooms for the Professors.

Mr. Harington was not in favour of this proposal: he preferred suggesting that the Writers' Buildings should be given up and the sum now paid for their rent amounting to 31,920 rupees per annum devoted to renting a sufficient number of good houses in Chowringhee or to purchasing or constructing such houses in the vicinity of the proposed New College. The question of permitting students to leave College within the prescribed period of one year, and of renewing the system of money-prizes as an inducement to diligence in study also engaged Mr. Harington's attention. Mr. Fendall and Mr. Rees also wrote brief minutes concurring in the main in the opinions expressed in the long exhaustive minute by the President. On the 22nd December, 1818 Captain Roebuck applied for and obtained three months' leave to

proceed to Patna to meet his brother Lieutenant Benjamin Roebuck who was dangerously ill and was on his way to Calcutta for the purpose of going to sea. Lieutenant Price would perform his duties during his absence on leave. On the 1st January, 1819 Captain Roebuck submitted the copy of his "Annals of the College of Fort William" of which Government in response to his request for subscription purchased fifty copies at a cost of Rs. 1209-6-0.

On the 25th March, 1819 Dr. Lumsden applied for leave of absence for 12 months from the 1st July to proceed to Almorah on the ground of ill health (intermittent fever) but on the 27th March followed this application by another (supported by a medical certificate signed by Drs. McWhirter, Nicholson and Jamison) for permission to retire on a pension although not entitled to it by length of service—citing in support the case of the former Provost who had been granted a pension of 6000/- per annum, to commence from the period of the abolition of his office in the College and an additional of £200 per annum to his pension as Senior Chaplain upon his retirement from the performance of his Clerical functions in India."

Mr. Gilchrist had also been recommended to the favour and protection of the Honourable Court on his retirement from ill health (in letter dated 29th February, 1804). Dr. Lumsden referred to the case of the Professors at Hertford College who were entitled to pensions on retirement after a certain period of service. Should this pension be refused by the Honourable Court of Directors Dr. Lumsden would be compelled whatever might be the state of his health to return to India sooner or later, in which event he trusted that Government would permit him to resume his office in the College. Dr. Lumsden's leave was granted and Lieutenant Bryce appointed to act for him. Government while recognising fully Dr. Lumsden's claim to the pension asked for regretted that it was not in their power to grant it without reference to the Court of Directors to whom they would recommend the application for favourable consideration. Leave to Europe would be granted on the conditions proposed by Dr. Lumsden, and accordingly no permanent successor would be appointed at present. The University of Copenhagen in acknowledging the present of oriental works made to them in 1817 returned through Dr. Wallich their grateful thanks and also forwarded for presentation to the College of Fort William copies of some of the most recent works of Scandinavian literature printed at Copenhagen at the public expense of which a list is given on page 394 Proceedings Vol. 7 comprising 31 volumes.

In replying to the recommendation of the Council, Government were not prepared to admit the necessity of erecting a premanent College Building His Excellency in Council regarded the residence of the Secretary in the College Building as detrimental to the interests of the College and while abstaining from ordering Captain Lockett to vacate the quarters occupied by him for so long a period, directed that on the occurrence of a vacancy in the office of Secretary the successor should not be allowed to reside in the College without the special sapction of Government.

Captain Lockett returned from leave of absence on the 19th July, 1819 and resumed charge of his office as Secretary and Examiner.

The necessity having arisen of appointing an acting Assistant Professor of Persian and Arabic, Lieutenants Reley and Beckett applied for the vacancy. Dr. Lumsden it



appears held also an appointment in the Stationery Office to which he refers in a letter of 26th June, 1819 relative to the necessity for appointing an acting Assistant Professor with its consequent loss of salary to himself during his leave. Lieut. Ayton was appointed on 10th September, 1819.

In July, Mr. Harington resigned and Mr. Fendall was appointed to be President in his stead with Mr. S. T. Goad as a member of the College Council (23rd July, 1819).

Major Charles Stewart was at this time contemplating the publication of a 2nd edition of his History of Bengal and in a Public General Letter from the Court of Directors dated 11th November, 1818 a request from that officer was embodied asking for the authentic materials for correcting or improving the 1st edition, more specially with reference to the ancient history of Tipperah, Silhet and Chittagong.

Dr. Lumsden's leave of absence to Europe was granted upon condition that he should return to Bengal within three years, during which period he could not draw any allowance, but so long as he remained on leave of absence within the limits of the Company's trade he was to be subject to a deduction from his allowances equal to the amount receivable by the temporary officers appointed. This concession was only to extend to the term of three years. In September 10th, 1819 Sir John Malcolm applied to the College of Fort William for a copy of all the different works that had been published at the College with a view to their being placed in the Reading Room which he was desirous of establishing at Mhow.—Government having authorised the College Council to comply with Sir John Malcolm's request 87 volumes were contributed to the College Library.—A list of these books will be found on pp. 538-539 Proc. Vol. 7.

H. H. Wilson's Sanskrit and English Dictionary was completed and the 100 copies subscribed for by Government sent to the College Library on the 15th October, 1819. Mr. Yate's Sanskrit Grammar was submitted for the approval of the College in May 1819 and a subscription for 100 copies was authorised on the 29th October, 1819.

A further presentation of books was made to the Library of the University of Copenhagen in the name of the Honourable the East India Company by the sanction of Government conveyed in a letter dated 6th December, 1819 Dr. Lumsden wrote from Dehlee on the 9th November, 1819 tendering his resignation of the office of Professor of Persian and Arabic under the conditions imposed by Government, with effect from 1st April, 1820 or such earlier period as he might embark for England.

On the 23rd November, 1819 one Radha Madhab Banerjee wrote to the College Council proposing to erect a building suitable for the College of Fort William upon a piece of ground measuring three and a half Biggahs adjoining the grounds of the Sudder Dewanny Adawlat to the eastward. His proposal was forwarded to Government with a strong recommendation for its acceptance on the 1st December, 1819. The lease of the building then occupied by the College fell in on the 1st July, 1820 and the building itself was inconvenient and in bad repair. As this question had not been decided in March, 1820, Government sanctioned the proposal made by the College Council to renew the lease for one year from 1st July, 1820.

Captain Roebuck died on the 9th December, 1819 and in reporting this sad occurrence the College Council inform Government that the offices of 2nd Examiner and Assistant Hindustani Professor have become vacant. The applications of Lieutenants Beahett and Sleeman both of whom are qualified to hold the vacant offices were forwarded. Also one from Lieutenant Price offering to perform the duties of Asst. Hindustani Examiner in addition to his own duties as Bengali and Sanskrit Asst. Professor on half the salary of the additional post. Lieutenant Ruddell and Lieutenant A. Fell of the Ramghur Battalion also applied for the appointment. Lieutenant Ruddell was appointed by Government letter dated 25th January, 1820.

Lieutenant Ayton took up the duties of Asst. Persian Professor on his arrival at the Presidency on the 24th January, 1820.

Dr. Lumsden reported his embarkation for Europe *via* Persian Gulf on the Arab ship "Rahmanee" from Bombay on the 14th March, and tendered his resignation of his office from that date. The Council in forwarding Dr. Lumsden's letter to Government on the 10th April, pronounced a most eulogistic recommendation of the Professor for the favourable consideration of his claims to pension.

Captain Roebuck's widow applied on the 28th February, 1820 to the College Council for the grant to her of a pension, basing her claims upon the eminent services to the College of his late husband and her own poverty. Mrs. Roebuck pointed out how the late Captain Roebuck had suffered pecuniarily from the abolition of the post he once held of Assistant Secretary and Examiner and relied upon the equity and liberality of the Honourable Company for considerate attention to his claims preferred by the feeble voice of his widow. Captain Roebuck was not, it appears from this letter, a subscriber to any fund and even had he left any estate, his will having been made in 1812 a year previously to his marriage his widow could not benefit under its provisions.

His Excellency in Council replied on the 21st April, that though His Excellency was precluded from complying with Mrs. Roebuck's solicitation, he would nevertheless recommended her case to the favourable consideration of the Court of Directors.

Lieutenant Ayton on the 14th April, 1820 proposed to Council to publish his Nepalese and Newaree Grammar and this was sanctioned at a cost of 740/- rupees.

On the 17th April, Captain Phipps, Civil Architect, was called upon to furnish the Council with a plan and estimate of the Building proposed to be erected for the New College or Court House in order that it might be submitted without delay to His Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General in Council. Captain Phipps replies on the 21st., that he is prohibited from sending plans and estimates through any other channel than that of the Military Board, and that the papers had been sent to that Board on the 24th March. In a Government letter dated 5th May, 1820 the proposal was negatived on the ground of expense and Radha Madhab Banerjee was informed accordingly. On the 23rd April, the Council submitted to Government a list of books of the value of £307-7-0 purchased by Captain Lockett for the library of the College and asked for an order for payment.

On the 26th May, Sir J. E. Colebrooke Bart, was appointed President of the Council of the College of Fort William.

The Honourable Court of Directors in a Public letter dated 14th July, 1819 directed the Government of Bombay to submit a plan for the instruction of writers in the Native languages on their arrival at Bombay. This plan was to be "modelled on an economical scale, as may be consistent with the end in view." This letter was forwarded to the College Council who were asked to submit a sketch of the Constitution of the Fort William College for the guidance of the Bombay Government. This they complied with on the 26th July, 1820. (Council Proc. Vol. 8 page 187). Lieutenant Ayton applied to be appointed to the new Bombay College in the capacity of Secretary and Examiner in Arabic, Persian and Hindustani. In forwarding the information relative to the College of Fort William Mr. Goad appended memorandum of the Institution established at Madras for the instruction of the junior civil servants at that Presidency in the native languages, which he apparently considered to be quite as efficacious as the system in force in Fort William and far less costly. In May, 1820 a plan and estimate were submitted to the College Council for "converting the Writers' Buildings into a College adapted for thirty students, consisting of an examination room 68 feet long and 30 feet broad, four lecture rooms each 30 feet 6 inches by 20 ft. 6 in. and four libraries each 30 by 20 feet, a Secretary's office 31 ft. by 21 ft. and two separate offices for the Hindustani and Persian Departments each 20 feet square." The College upon this plan was to occupy three of the quarters, the whole number being 19. This would leave 16 quarters for 32 students. The Library rooms were to be on the ground floor, the Lecture rooms on the second floor while the Examination room and Secretary's office would occupy the upper story of the building. The following is the description taken from the letter forwarding the plan and estimate. The Writers' Buildings are remarkably well-built and of excellent materials but the outside appearance is heavy in the extreme from the want of something to interrupt the view of a long line of doors and windows, without even a cornice to relieve them : a stranger at first sight might certainly without any great stretch of fancy be led to suppose so large and unornamented a pile of building to be a work-house or ware-house of some description or other. The verandah proposed to be erected in front of the intended College will, in my opinion, add to this deformity of aspect unless some projection is also thrown out at each end of the Building..... These additional verandahs will be found to improve the Building both with respect to comfort and convenience and will tend to ornament the interior of the square to which at present the Building is an eyesore. The whole amount of estimate was 8644 sicca rupees. This included a double Architrave over the Ionic colonnade of ten columns 32 feet in height and 128 running feet of Ionic cornice round the verandah. The two end verandahs would cost an additional sum of 7607 sicca rupees and the Hindustani and Persian offices 1170 sicca rupees. Thus the total estimate amounted to 17,418 rupees. This estimate was submitted by Captain George Lindsay, Royal Engineer.

The property belonged to the estate of Mr. Barwell, so that prior to recommending these alterations to Government the College Council requested Messrs. Fairlie Fergusson & Co., the Agents for the Trustees of that estate to state whether in the event of the improvement being made at the expense of Government they would

undertake to guarantee a lease of the house to the end of the Honourable Company's Charter. To this Messrs. Fergusson Clark & Co. assented and the plan and estimate were accordingly forwarded to Government by the College Council. The rent of the Writers' Buildings was to remain as before at Rs. 2660 a month. Government while approving the suggestion were of opinion that in view of the improvement to be effected at the public expense, Government should be given the option of renewing the lease for a further term not exceeding 20 years from the conclusion of the Company's Charter and directed the College Council to propose this to Messrs. Fergusson Clark as a condition of the agreement. Messrs. Fergusson Clark agreed to grant the option and the estimate prepared by Captain Lindsay was ordered to be submitted to Captain Phipps, Superintendent of Public Buildings, for his opinion as to the practicability and expediency of the proposed alterations. Captain Phipps replied submitting a reduced estimate for 14,143 sicca rupees Mirza Khaleel, Assistant Oriental Professor at the College at Hertford, was upon retirement after eleven years' service granted by the Honourable the Court of Directors a pension of 300 rupees a month to commence from the date of his arrival in India. (Public letter dated 29th March, 1820)

By an order in Council dated 1st July, 1820 all military officers holding office in the College of Fort William were debarred from drawing regimental allowances from the Military Department but were permitted to receive the full amount of those allowances in addition to the pay of their respective offices as a charge on the College.

The Court of Directors in a public letter dated 5th April, 1820 expressed their disapproval of the way in which Captain Lockett had so far exceeded their original grant of £600 for the purchase of books for the College Library but sanctioned the payment in consideration of the value of the works. The Court also approved of the action of the College Council in rendering the Library accessible to the public under proper regulation.

The estimate submitted by Captain Phipps for the alterations to Writers' Buildings was sanctioned, and the work was ordered to be entrusted to Captain Lindsay provided he could undertake to complete it by the end of May, 1821. Notice was also given that the House then occupied by the College would be vacated from the expiration of the lease *viz.*, 1st July, 1821.

The Venerable Archdeacon Loring presented to the Library a copy of "Rowth's Reliquioe Sacros" and Mr. G. Swinton presented certain oriental works.

On the 27th November, 1820 Captain J. W. Taylor, Professor in the College, addressed the College Council and offered with the aid of Captain Martin to bring to a conclusion and publish the Hindustani Dictionary for which materials originally collected by Dr. Hunter existed in the hands of the executors of the late Captain Roebuck to whom the Mss. had passed on the death of Dr. Hunter. As it was uncertain whether Captain Roebuck's executors would part with the material, Captain Taylor was directed to enquire in the first place from them whether they would give up the manuscripts to enable the College Council to come to a decision. The executors being applied to replied that they must first consult Mr. Wilson (H. H. Wilson) previously to delivering over the ms. materials. The Council accordingly in recom-

mending Captain Taylor's scheme to Government asked Government to consider whether in the event of the executors declining to give up the ms. the public have not a right to demand it in view of the fact that Government had already incurred an expense of 5700/- rupees upon the Dictionary.

In September, 1822 the College Council recommended Government to purchase the manuscripts from the executors for 2000/- sicca rupees, the price demanded for them by his executor Mr. H. H. Wilson. Government conveyed their sanction to this proposal in a letter dated 26th September, 1822. These materials were accordingly purchased, they consisted of five folio volumes, eight smaller volumes, twenty eight parcels being the Dictionary of Dr. Hunter divided according to the letters of the Alphabet and interleaved, a great number of additional words being entered in the inserted leaves. (Letter from H. H. Wilson dated 10th October, 1822).

Consequent upon the resignation by Sir J. E. Colebrooke Bart. of the Company's service Mr. Courtney Smith was appointed President and Mr. W. B. Bayley, Mr. George Swinton and Mr. Holt Mackenzie were appointed additional members of the College Council (15th December, 1820).

Early in January, Captain Lockett submitted a letter asking to be relieved of the duties of Public Examiner or else if he were not relieved to be allowed the pay originally allotted to that post 500/- per mensem.

Captain Lindsay wrote on the 17th January, 1821 reporting that work had been commenced on the alterations to Writers' Buildings. The Honourable Court in a public letter dated 28th June, 1820 declined to permit the continuance of admission of military students to the College and confirmed the abolition of the office of Assistant Professor while authorising the restoration of the office of second Examiner and the reinstitution of pecuniary rewards for high proficiency to civil servants. They accordingly directed that the services of Major Weston, Lieutenant Martin and Lieutenant Price should be dispensed with. The College Council were accordingly called upon to submit a revised scheme in accordance with these orders. At the same time the Council asked the Government to obtain from the Honourable Court a reconsideration of the question of the admission of military students, a course which commended itself to Government who however declined to sanction the admission of any fresh military students until the pleasure of the Honourable Court had been ascertained. The office of Secretary and Librarian were separated from that of Examiner and two separate examiners were appointed on salaries of 500/- per mensem. Captain Lockett was accordingly deprived of 200/- a month previously drawn by him as Examiner (Lieutenants Ruddell and Price).

Mr. James Atkinson (Asst. Surgeon) was at this time Superintendent of the Orphan Press (the Government Press) as appears in the course of certain irregularities committed by Mr. Ward, the Head Writer and Asst. Librarian to the College which ultimately led to his dismissal. Mr. Hutchins (C. W.) was appointed in Mr. Ward's place on the 6th April, 1821. The Custom House or as it was then called the Town Duty Office was situated in No. 1, Writers' Buildings but when the alterations to the Buildings necessitated its removal it was to be moved to No. 14, Writers' Buildings, but the Collector of Government Customs preferred some other arrangement. A

house was in course of erection at "Nawab's Ghat" for the permanent Custom House.

In recognition of their gratitude for the presentation volumes received by them through the College of Fort William, the University of Copenhagen conferred upon Captain Lockett and Captain William Taylor and Dr. Wallich the degree of Doctor Philosophic (Letter from Dr. Wallich dated 17th July, 1821). Lieutenant David Bryce, Professor of Persian and Arabic applied for six weeks' sick-leave to proceed to the Sandheads for change of air. This leave was granted and Lieutenant Ruddell was appointed to act for him during his absence. By an order of Government dated 29th June, 1821 Captain Lockett was allowed to occupy Nos. 1 and 2 of the Writers' Buildings when the College should be removed to these premises but as a special indulgence and it was not to be understood that such accommodation belonged properly to the office of Secretary. Captain Lockett wrote on the 1st October applying for six weeks' leave from the 8th as he intended to resign his office before the end of the year. This was granted and Lieutenant Ruddell appointed to act as Secretary. Captain Coulthard, Artillery Regiment, applied on the 22nd September for the Secretaryship to the College.

Government sanctioned the purchase by the College of the remaining copies of Captain Lockett's Mint Amil and Shurhoo Mint Amil at half the original price in response to the author's request that they would purchase them. (7th December, 1821).

The Honourable Court of Directors in a public letter dated 4th July, 1821 gave an opinion favourable to Radha Madhab Banerjee's offer to build a College. However, in the meantime, other measures had been adopted by the College Council by the adaptation of the Writers' Buildings. Dr. Wallich wrote on the 21st January forwarding the Diplomata of Dr. Lockett and Dr. Weston from the University of Copenhagen and also a number of books in Danish for presentation to the College.

On the 24th January Dr. Lumsden arrived in Calcutta after an absence of two years and a half and solicited permission to resume his office in the College in accordance with the agreement before referred to. This permission was granted and Dr. Lumsden accordingly resumed office on the same pay as formerly 1500/- a month, displacing Lieutenant Bryce.

A discussion took place in the College Council at this time as to the general management of the College and the control of the students. All the members of the Council wrote lengthy minutes. Mr. Smith, the President, who by various pronouncements upon matters of literary interest, the upkeep of the Library, etc., had evinced iconoclastic tendencies, went so far as to say that he doubted whether the maintenance of the College was desirable at all, whether it was in fact "of real benefit to any but those who draw their pay from the establishment." This view was strongly opposed by all the members and to judge dispassionately after the lapse of nearly a century we may say that from his written utterances Mr. Courtenay Smith was unfitted for the office of President of the College, failing as he did to appreciate the really good and useful work the Institution had performed and was still performing. His plain duty was to resign his office which course he took in a letter dated the 26th

March, 1822 in obedience to a private communication from the Chief Secretary intimating the desire of Government that he should resign the office of President of the College Council. The full text of this letter is quoted by Mr. Smith in his letter (vide Proc. Vol. 8 page 587). Mr. Smith's letter betrays the irritation and annoyance he felt. Mr. S. T. Goad was appointed President of the College Council on the 29th March, 1822.

An addition was made to the Statutes (Sixth Chapter) providing for the stricter discipline of the College and for the revival of money prizes. It was on the question of discipline mainly that Mr. Smith had disagreed with the rest of the Council. In the course of a Public Letter dated 28th November, 1821 the Honourable Court of Directors replied to the petition of the widow of the late Captain Roebuck for pension and stated that as they had granted his father a pension of £100 a year in England they did not think fit to grant a pension to his widow. They, however, authorised the Government to present Mrs. Roebuck with the sum of 2,400 sicca rupees valuing the rupee at 2/6 d. In the meantime, Mrs. Roebuck had married again, and the College Council wrote to Government asking whether in these circumstances it was the intention that she should benefit by the Honourable Court's liberality.

Major William Taylor, Professor of Hindustani, was in or about May, 1822 appointed Judge Advocate General, without vacating his office of Professor. This threw a great deal of extra labour upon Captain Price the second examiner who consequently applied on the 3rd June, 1822 for additional remuneration.

Captain Ruddell in August, 1822 also applied for an increase of pay on general grounds, but met with a refusal from the Council. Government authorized the purchase of (40) remaining copies of Dr. Lumsden's Persian Grammar from the author at Rs. 36 a copy. (27-12-1822),

The standard of the examinations for high proficiency and Degree of Honour in Persian and Urdu were fixed by a Council Resolution, bearing date 7th April, 1823.

The President, Mr. Goad, died early in the year. His recent death is alluded to in a Minute of the 27th January signed by Mr. G. Swinton. Certain further alterations were sanctioned for the Writers' Buildings consisting chiefly of iron railings to the verandahs.

The manuscripts of a Thibetan Dictionary prepared by (the late) Mr. Sshraeter from materials supplied to him by Major Barri Latter (deceased) were handed by Government to the College of Fort William with direction to have copies made for Mrs. Latter and sent to her in England in compliance with the terms of her late husband's will regarding the disposal of his manuscript Thibetan works collected by him. (31-1-23). On the 27th February, 1823 orders were issued for the examination by the officers of the College of Fort William of all Military Officers requiring the certificate of proficiency requisite for holding the post of Interpreter and Quarter-master. The Examiners of the College being called upon to report upon the standard of qualification, held very divergent views: Captain Price considered that a somewhat moderate knowledge of Hindustani was all that could be expected and proposed to test this knowledge by translation into English from the *Bagh-o-Bahar* and *Baital Pachisi*, the former in Nastalik and the latter in Devanagari character. Grammatical

questions were also to be put to the candidates and translation from English into Hindustani, and reading and translating manuscripts was also to be required. Captain Price also recommended the proposal of specific encouragement for the study of Persian in addition to Hindustani. Captain Ruddell, however, considered that far higher qualifications were essentially necessary to the due performance of the duties of Interpreters. He recommended that candidates should be required to translate and explain grammatically any common passage in the *Prem-sagar*, *Bagh-o-Bahar* and *Khird Afroz*, and translate into Hindustani any of the articles of war together with any easy passage in English in narrative style. He assumed that candidates would also have read the *Baital Pachisi*, *Singhasan Batasi* and *Raj Neet*. He further recommended that they should read in Persian the *Anwari Sahaili*, *Goolistan Bostan* and *Hafiz* while those who could in addition read "*Sanda Meer Tagi*, etc.," should be given an extra pecuniary reward. This standard was a counsel of perfection and was absurdly high.

In consequence of this difference of opinion, Government appointed a Committee to fix the standard in communication with the Examiners of the College. This Committee was composed of Major W. Taylor, Captain T. Macan and Lieutenant C. Paton. This Committee sent in their report on the 22nd April, 1823 and stated that in their opinion the acquirements which should be demanded of candidates for Interpreterships were as follows :—

- 1st.—A well grounded knowledge of the general principles of grammar.
- 2nd.—Ability to read and write both Urdu and Devanagari characters.
- 3rd.—A colloquial knowledge of Urdu and Hindi sufficient to enable him to explain with facility and at the moment, any orders in those dialects or to transpose Reports, Letters, &c., from them into English.

The tests which the Committee recommended were :—

- First*, well selected questions, not of the niceties, but of the general leading principles of grammar.
- Second*, *Viva voce* conversation with the Examiners.
- Third*, written translations into Hindustani in both characters of selected orders, or Rules and Regulations.
- Fourth*, reading and translating *Bagh-o-Bahar* in Hindustani, the *Prem Sagar* in *Khari Boli* and the *Gulistan* or *Anwari Sahaili* in Persian.

This was a compromise between the recommendations of Captain Price and Captain Ruddell. Curiously enough the Committee made no recommendation as regards manuscript reading. Ensign Todd, 9th Native Regiment, was the first officer to pass by this test in October 7th, 1823.

In April 30th, 1823 a very important step was taken by the Commander-in-Chief, who recommended Government to order the printing of copies of the *Bagh-o-Bahar*, *Baital Pachisi* and *Prem Sagar* with Captain Price's vocabulary and an abridgement of Shakespeare's grammar for supply to officers commanding corps for the use of officers. The Governor-General sanctioned this step, and authorised the College Council to cause 100 copies of the above works and of the selections from the *Goolistan* and *Anwari Suhaili* to be printed and transmitted to the Adjutant General for distribution.



On the 13th March, 1823 Mr. W. B. Bayley was appointed President of the College Council and Mr. William Dorin, member. In March, 1823 the Libraries ordered by the Honourable Court of Directors to be established for the use of the non-commissioned officers and Privates of the European Regiments, were founded and the College were asked to contribute a few copies of Hindustani grammar and dictionaries. On the 15th May, 1823 Government sanctioned the publication in an English form of Dr. Schroeter's Bhutan Grammar and Dictionary at a cost of 12,954 rupees under the superintendence of Dr. W. Carey who offered his services gratuitously for this work. The work was eventually published at the Serampore Press in 1826.

Dr. Breton of the Bengal Medical Establishment was examined in both Persian and Hindustani in connection with his candidature for appointment as Superintendent of the Native Medical School and was declared to have passed with great credit.

In November, 1823 Captain Price was appointed Professor of Hindustani in the place of Lieutenant Col. Taylor who was required to vacate on his promotion. Lieutenant I. W. I. Ouseley 14th Native Infantry was appointed Examiner in place of Captain Price.

The orders under the provisions of which Lieut. Col. Taylor had to vacate his office in the College was a general order of the 23rd May, 1823 which incapacitated Military Officers from holding any situation in the College of Fort William after their promotion to a majority. The College Council regarded this order with disfavour as tending to impair the efficiency of the College and placed their views before Government in the clearest possible manner in a letter dated the 22nd December, 1823. They considered the order would react prejudicially both on the College and on the Army and earnestly prayed for reconsideration.

Replying on the 7th January, 1824 Government declined to accede to the request of the College Council on the plea of inability to make any exception in favour of the College of Fort William.

Mr. J. H. Harington was appointed President of the Council of the College of Fort William on the 7th January, 1824.

On the 13th February, 1824 Captain Lockett was appointed Assistant to the Resident in Lucknow. Lieutenant I. W. I. Ouseley was appointed to officiate as Secretary to the College Council and also as Librarian. The College Council being solicitous to open the Library to the use of the Public requested the Secretary to lay before them a draft of the Rules which appeared desirable for that purpose. Captain Lockett on vacating his office was presented by the College with a large number of oriental works of which a list is recorded.

Lieutenant James Martin of the 6th Regiment Native Infantry applied to the College Council for appointment to one of the vacant offices and was referred to His Excellency the Governor-General.

On the 11th March, Lieutenant Ruddell was appointed Secretary to the College and Librarian with effect from March 1st, on a reduced salary of 800/- per mensem.

In the year 1820 Captain Lockett prepared and printed a Catalogue of the printed works in the Library of the College, and in March, 1824 the College Council directed the Offg: Secretary Lieutenant Ouseley to report as to the state of the

catalogues of College books. Lieut. Ouseley reported that Captain Lockett's Catalogue of printed books might with very little trouble be enlarged and reprinted or a supplement annexed as might appear best to the College Council.

The catalogue of manuscripts was, however, he stated, a more serious business and would occupy eight or nine months from that date (March 5th, 1824). Lieut. Ouseley further states that the Library contains a great many curious and valuable manuscripts upwards of 2000 volumes exclusive of Sanskrit, Punjabi, Mahtos (*sic*) and Turkish manuscripts. There is, he continues, nothing in the Library which can be called a catalogue of Sanskrit books, the number of manuscripts has been considerably increased within the last three or four years. Captain Price had commenced a catalogue of the Sanskrit books some years before, but it had been abandoned. Dr. Carey was in consequence of this report asked to nominate a fit person to look after and catalogue the Sanskrit and Bengali Books in the College Library. Captain Price was also called upon to offer suggestions regarding the Sanskrit Catalogue which it was proposed to prepare and append to the revised English Catalogue now in course of preparation. Captain Price reported and Dr. Carey concurred in his report.

Mr. James Hare (eldest son of Doctor James Hare), a student of the College died on the 20th May, 1824 at his father's house. Proceedings IX. 426.

The Honourable Mr. Wellesley, Resident at Indore, having presented through Dr. Atkinson to the College Library a "Hindu Manuscript" Captain Price was called upon to furnish an account of it. (Proc. 455-456).

On the 28th July, 1824 Captain Price was informed by the College Council that the Governor-General had appointed Lieutenant A. D. Gordon of the late 12th Regiment of Native Infantry to officiate as an Examiner in the College and that Captain Price's appointment as Offg: Examiner ceased from July 22nd. A list of surplus books was sent to Mr. H. H. Wilson, Secretary to the Committee of Public Institutions on the 30th July, 1824 asking what number of copies of the works named appear calculated to be useful to any of the Establishments under their control. (Proc. IX. 468).

In a Public letter bearing date the 7th April, 1824 the Honourable Court of Directors forwarded an English inscription for translation into Persian with the view to its being engraved upon one of the panels of the Mausoleum erected over the remains of the Marquis Cornwallis at Ghazeepore. The translation both in Persian and Arabic was furnished by Dr. M. Lumsden on the 29th October, 1824.

At the instance of the Secrerary (Captain Ruddell) supported by the College Council, the office of Head Writer and Assistant Librarian was abolished from the 1st October, 1824 and the 200/- rupees thus saved was reappropriated to increase the salaries of certain of the Native establishment recommended by the Secretary, Mr. Walters the Head Writer being granted a month's pay in lieu of notice.

In consequence of the neglect of the Bengali language, it was enacted by the Seventh Chapter of Statutes that in future "every civil servant will be expected to qualify himself for the public service by a competent knowledge of the Persian language and of either the Bengali or the Hindee language." Captain Price in a

letter to the Secretary apprehends great difficulty in finding a sufficient number of native teachers, qualified to teach Hindi in the Devanagari character.

The Pundits being all Bengalees, it would become necessary to seek for qualified pundits from the upper provinces, men qualified in Sanskrit as well as in Hindi. New editions of the Hindi text books would also be necessary as the number available was insufficient.

In September, 1824 a further presentation of books published in Denmark was made to the College Library by the University of Copenhagen through Dr. Wallich in recognition of which the College Council presented to the University of Copenhagen in the name of the Honourable East India Company copies of all the works published under their patronage since 1822.

The Revd. W. H. Mill, Principal of Bishop's College wrote on the 12th October, 1824 asking for copies of certain works which were accordingly presented to the Bishop's College on the 19th October.

On the 4th November certain general orders by the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council, rendered necessary by a mutiny of the 47th Native Regiment at Barrackpore, were forwarded to the College for translation into Hindustani "in the Idiom in use amongst the Native troops." The 47th Native Infantry was disbanded after the execution of the ringleaders and a new regiment numbered 69 was raised in its stead under the European officers of the 47th. The text of this general order is given at pp. 527-9 of Proceedings IX, followed by the text of another order to check desertion pp. 529-532. The translations of those General Orders were made by Captain Price, Hindustani Professor.

Government subscribed for 100 copies of a Burmese Dictionary to be published by the Revd. Mr. Wade (Proc. IX, pp. 537-538).

Mr. W. B. Bayley presented to the College Library a corrected Delhi manuscript of the Dabistan-i-Mazahib and a large volume containing portions of the works of all the most celebrated Persian Poets also in manuscripts.

On the 16th December, 1824 a general order prohibiting native commissioned, non-commissioned officers and soldiers from lending money or valuables convertible into money to any European officer on pain of instant dismissal, was sent for translation to the College. (Proc. Vol. X.)

In answer to a letter from Dr. Carey the College Council sanctioned his commencing a correspondence with Mr. Hodgson, Assistant to the Resident in Nepal on the subject of the purchase of oriental works which Mr. Hodgson had reported existed in large numbers in Nepal. (Also Proc. X. pp. 68-69). On the 24th January, 1825 Mr. H. H. Wilson, Secretary to the General Committee of Public Instruction wrote to the College Council asking for certain specified books for the public seminaries at Delhi and Agra. His request was granted (X. Proc. pp. 43-44).

On the 4th February, 1825 Government subscribed for 100 copies of Revd. Mr. G. H. Hough's (Serampore) Burman and English Vocabulary at 10/- a copy.

On the 19th February, 1825 Dr. Lumsden announced his intention of finally quitting India and of proceeding to Europe by the *General Hewell*. He accordingly solicited permission to resign his office as Arabic and Persian Professor from the date

of the departure of the ship named. The College Council in a highly eulogistic letter forwarded Dr. Lumsden's application for the sanction of Government (Proc : 72-73).

Maulvi Jaun Alee in February, 1825 applied for retirement on a pension in consequence of ill health, old age and defective eye sight, after a faithful service of seventeen years. Dr. Lumsden strongly supported the application and in doing so spoke very highly of the Maulvi's literary merits. To him the College was indebted for the publication of the Soorah, the Makamat-i-Hariri, the Rhulasatu-l-Hirab and other works among the most valuable of those the College had produced. The Government granted the Maulvi a retiring pension of Rs. 50 a month being a moiety of his salary with effect from 1st April, 1825. Unfortunately, however, the Maulvi died on the very day this order was passed (10th March, 1825).

Captain Price on the 7th March, 1825 represented the hardship of his being called upon to make translations of general orders, letters, etc., for the Military Department which was not included in his duties, and asked for additional remuneration. The Governor-General in Council decided that such translations should be executed in the office of the Persian Secretary to Government.

On the 17th March, Lieutenant I. W. I. Ouseley of the 28th Native Infantry was appointed to the office of Professor of the Persian and Arabic languages in the College of Fort William in the room of Dr. Lumsden.

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[ *To be continued.* ]

# The Nesbitt-Thompson Papers—X.

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No. 156.

PENTON LODGE,

*Sunday.*

My dear and hond. Sir,

Rather than lose my Frank I use it, though with my usual prodigality of time, I have left myself but five minutes for the purpose. Chapman and his wife who came to look at Chute Lodge, a place upon sale within four miles of us, heard there that we lived in the neighbourhood, and favoured us with a call. We prevailed on them to dine and take a bed here. "Idem nolle it idem velle id demum firma Omicitra est." Though I have never lived much with Chapman we have upon one most important subject such an entire Union of Soul that we were happy in each other's company. Here I am summoned to dinner. Upon my honor I had rather write to you than eat it. Suffice it to say that Mrs. Thompson has a few bottles of Burgundy, the relicks of her past splendour. We sanctified some of it by drinking it to the health of yourself and Mrs. Hastings, and never were libations poured forth with truer devotion. We are all well. Tell us that you are so, and do not wait for a Frank. Remember us affectionately to our dearest Mr. Hastings and believe me most truly and gratefully yours,

GEO. NESBITT THOMPSON.

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No. 157.

My dear and hond. Sir,

I thank you for the earnestness with which you invite me to Daylesford. The invitation is enforced by some considerations of duty as well as by many of inclination. For Mr. Anstey is at Cheltenham and it is very long since I have seen him. But I cannot at this time go from home. I have no Bailiff, and my new gardener, who I intend shall superintend my farm, does not yet know the fields nor even the names of the labourers—and behold the harvest is at hand.

The field in which I intend sowing the Fescue Grass is about two acres. I intend to mix it not only with the real Hop trefoil, but with the Dutch Clover and perhaps with the Northleach Rye Grass. I am convinced that the best pastures are formed of *many* grasses, so that if the season is unfavourable to one it advances others. Besides that cattle are great epicures and love variety. I have seen a luxurious cow when turned into a fresh pasture begin with Dandelyons whether medicinally or not I don't pretend to judge. I shall not sow the seed till spring. My land has been admirably prepared, turniped, and then followed great part of the

winter and all the summer. There is a waggon comes from Oxford to Salisbury through Andover every week. I am ashamed of such a scrawl particularly when I look at your excellent penmanship. But who can imitate you?

Yours ever

GEO. NESBITT THOMPSON.

No. 158.

*Thursday Morning.*

My dear Sir,

The carriage is at the door to convey my friends to Daylsford. My first pleasure would be to accompany them, my second is that by staying at home I can enable them to go. I did not mean to affront you by sending you the one pound note. Great debts commonly take care of themselves, small ones are generally overlooked. and it was to guard against the possible neglect of this that I presumed to anticipate its payment. I fear it is not many offences of this sort that you can impute either to me or your other friends. That God may bless you with all good things is my dear and hond. Sir the fervent wish of,

Yours most truly,

GEO. NESBITT THOMPSON.

[Addressed to :—]

WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.,

Daylesford House.

No. 159.

PENTON LODGE,

*Monday Morning.*

My dear and hond. Sir,

Geo. Powney and Henry Vansittart are just setting out for Daylsford. I wish I could be of their party, but I ride by so many anchors to Penton that I cannot easily get under weigh. I flatter myself, however, that I shall be able to pass a day or two with you before the year is over. You promised me one of the *best* copies of your trial. Harry will convey it to his mother at Bisham Abbey and she will bring it from thence to Penton.

She is going with one of our children to Bisham in the course of this week, I stay at home to superintend the nursery and the farm—

"Fix'd like a plant on my peculiar spot"

"To draw nutrition, propagate and rot."

Such is now the colour of my life, and I am thankful that it is no worse. That it is so good I owe my dear Sir, and I shall never forget it to yourself. With all the gratitude and affection that such a sentiment can produce I remain,

Most truly and faithfully yours,

GEO. NESBITT THOMPSON.

Harry I hope will not fail to present my best regards to Mrs. Hastings.

[Addressed to :—]

WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.,

Daysford House.

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No. 160.

*Monday.*

My dear George,

I yesterday received your letter endorsed "Try Andover." To me it appears that *Andover* was before very plainly written.

The enclosed letter will explain itself. To-morrow I will trouble you with one for Mr. Forster. Marian is still at Mathews where she has much benefitted by the *cheerful* company of that sweet good tempered woman. On Wednesday her mother purposes setting out with her for the Heartwells.

Yours in haste faithfully,

GEO. NESBITT THOMPSON.

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No. 161.

TO MR. AND MRS. HASTINGS.

EXMOUTH,

*Wednesday, 5th August 1812.*

My dear Friends,

I have always opened my heart to both of you with so little reserve that were I to pour it forth upon the subject on which I have now to address you I should probably be guilty of extravagance. Take therefore the copy of a letter which I have just written to Miss Vansittart under the severe restriction of my feelings. It is certainly a more sober and subdued one than I should have written to either of you. Of all the affections which touch the heart of man the love of a duteous daughter is the tenderest, the purest and consequently the most sublime, and never was the heart of any man more thoroughly penetrated, more entirely possessed by this exalted sentiment than that of,

Your much afflicted friend,

GEO. NESBITT THOMPSON.

Miss Vansittart was one of Marian's god-mothers. Mrs. Thompson and all the rest of us considering the magnitude of our loss are full as well as we ought to be.

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No. 162.

EXMOUTH,

*Wednesday, 5th August 1812.*

My dear Miss Vansittart,

I am in very great affliction, but instead of yielding to it, I shall endeavour only to perform the duties which it prescribes to me. One of them is to tell you that my much loved Sophia died on Monday last about 11 o'clock in the forenoon. Though the medicines which she had taken during the three or four last days of her life could contribute nothing to the cure of her disorder, they were such as to support her under it. Her sufferings, I thank God, were at no time acute and the convulsions of death were neither long nor violent. It is my consolation to know that in this awful period of her being, she acted as in every preceding stage of it exactly as she ought. My sense of my loss would perhaps be less afflicting could I recollect in her whole life a single offence of which (she) had been guilty, but I am thankful I have not this miserable consolation. She was in every stage of her existence as perfect as the lot of humanity permits, and instead of complaining that Heaven thought fit so soon to deprive us of her, I am truly thankful that I have been thus long indulged with the blessing of so good a child. As I just now looked on her, I could not help reflecting that had she lived ever so long and ever so prosperously "to this condition she must have come at last;" and that most probably she never could have arrived at it with more spotless purity of soul than she has now done. It surely is an act of mercy in her maker to receive her without a longer and severer trial. I will venture to assert that few girls of her age ever possessed more or higher virtues than she did. It is not my purpose, however, to expatiate on them. Intimately as I was acquainted with her character I am sure I did not know all its excellence, and in this belief I am supported by one proof of its sublimity which I obtained only three days before her death.

I must tell you that in the month of May I had myself been very ill, and that when I was able to leave the house I accepted an invitation. My physician gave me to spend a few days with him at Exeter. My dear child wishing to be as near to me as she could, took this opportunity of visiting a young lady at the Deanery. She had herself a violent cold at the time, which we all thought this change of air might help to remove. She so perfectly retained her usual good looks and cheerful spirits, that I only was by our acquaintance at Exeter considered as the invalid and to me was all her solicitude directed. Yet it was at this time she wrote the paper of which I will presently give you a copy.

On the 8th of June we returned to Exmouth on the 18th she became feverish and much indisposed, on the 20th she took to her bed, and on Monday the third of August she died.



On Saturday last she was removed from her bed to the couch, where with infinite joy she received her brother George on his arrival from school. He, his mother, and myself were present, she then called for a small box of papers, and taking from it, one sealed and directed to me, she said "I must now think of what I am going to do." She then looked upwards with an air of recollection, broke the seal, read the paper, and after a short pause delivered it to me. It was written at the Deanery on Sunday, the 7th June and this is a copy of it.

"By my appearance the world thinks me in perfect health, and thank God I do not feel very ill; but my constitution seems to be wearing out, and I have a decided opinion of the probability of an event about which I hope my friends may be as composed as I am. For, thanks to my beloved father, I have learn'd to look upon life and death with an equal eye, and knowing where my hope is fixed to receive every dispensation of Providence with gratitude, as intended for my ultimate good. The only wish I ever form, and even that I check, is that my illness may be shortened, and so lessen the trouble and anxiety of my much loved parent. M. S. Thompson."

I read this note with rapture, observing which she quietly said, you must not show it to any one. I implored her not to impose on me that injunction for that it did her the highest honor. To which she replied "she did not wish to be so *honored*." But she pronounced these words with such playfulness and unconcern that I thought they left me at liberty to do with the paper as I liked. I cannot think I make an ill use of it in submitting it to your perusal. It may perhaps induce you to believe that what I have said of her has some better foundation than the weak though venial partiality of parental fondness.

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No. 163.

TO MR. AND MRS. HASTINGS,

BENSON HALL, EXMOUTH,

29th September 1812.

My dear Friends,

I thank you most heartily for your kind invitation. If I sought only the indulgence of my feelings or the luxury of grief I should avail myself of it. But the best tribute I can pay to the revered and beloved memory of my virtuous daughter is to do my duty by her seven surviving brothers and sisters, who are now all at home; and this duty calls on me most imperiously not to leave them, for as she well knew my presence is indispensably necessary to the education even of the youngest amongst them.

Most heartily do I cherish the sentiments which Mr. Hastings has offered for my consolation. They do not soar at all above my reach. What little I possess either of religion or of philosophy I keep for daily use and not for ornament. I know the miseries of this life, and I do most sincerely believe in the happiness of the next.

Every day therefore do I thank my God for His mercies both to myself and my dear departed daughter. I thank Him for His bounty in having blessed me for nearly twenty years with the possession of this excellent child, and for His goodness in calling her hence, before she had tasted much of sorrow, and whilst she was in a state of as perfect purity as humanity permits. For her own sake she had lived long enough. The remainder of her days could not have been as those which were past; for though she possessed extraordinary fortitude and resignation she also possessed singular sensibility, and she must therefore have felt for other's misfortunes, however, well she might have sustained her own. The distresses which threaten me, come when they may, will now come shorn of half their terrors, for they cannot now wound that sweet and gentle spirit whose peace was ten thousand times dearer to me than my own. The bare remembrance of her virtues will help to support me under them. Her presence notwithstanding the sweetness of her councils, and the persuasive eloquence of her bright example might perhaps have unmanned me.

I am highly gratified by your opinion of the paper which she delivered to me two days before her death. It was written whilst she was on a visit to Miss Martin at the Deanery. When I informed young Mr. Martin of her death I sent him a copy of the paper. His letter to me in answer contains the following passage:—

"She [my sister] well recollects the Sunday on which the note was written, and had observed that she thought her in more than usually good spirits on that day: little imagining from what considerations those spirits probably arose."

The Martins are a highly respectable family. They were formerly your neighbours; but now live at Ham Court near Upton upon Severn.

I cannot conclude my letter without repeating my thanks for your kind invitation. I have the pleasure to tell you that Mrs. Thompson continues in good health and that we are all well. I am believe me my most truly dear and excellent friends,

Yours most faithfully,

GEO. NESBITT THOMPSON.

[Addressed to:—]

WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.,

Daylsford House,

Chipping Norton.

No. 164.

TO MR. AND MRS. HASTINGS.

BEACON HILL, EXMOUTH,

26th December 1812.

My dear Friends,

Were the intercourse of our spirits on earth as unrestrained and perfect as I hope it will hereafter be, I should not feel it necessary to tell you that notwithstanding my long silence you have been much the subject of my thoughts. The

afflicted indeed are not apt to forget their friends, and it is long since that *prosperity* could either produce or extenuate any of my faults.

When Lord Moira's appointment to the Government of India was announced in the newspapers I was advised to solicit through Mr. Hastings's influence some employment under his Lordship. This I declined doing for many reasons, and amongst the rest for these. *Firstly*, because I did not think Mr. Hastings possessed any influence adequate to the attainment of this object: *secondly*, because had he possessed it; I knew the exercise of it would be extremely painful to him; and *thirdly*, because I did not think that even the attainment of such an object would have contributed to the welfare of my children. They are at such a time of life and so circumstanced that I could not leave them without a sinful desertion of the highest duties with which it has pleased God to invest me. Had I no children few things would make me happier than to return to Bengal. I love the country and its inhabitants. I love it too because it was there I first obtained and best enjoyed the confidence and friendship of my dear Mr. and Mrs. Hastings. It is not now likely that I could return to India in any situation which could enable me to save in the few remaining years of my life even a very moderate fortune; but were it possible for me rapidly to acquire a great one, what would it profit my children if by my absence they were rendered unworthy of it. General Charles Morgan, Mr. Oakes, and a multitude of others have returned to India to enrich their families. Riches they have got and in abundance; but they have lost, in the very worst sense of the word have *lost*, their children. To return to Bengal therefore is for me neither expedient nor practicable. But I am very needy, and something I must do to save myself. I am not altogether unable to work, nor even quite ashamed though horribly unwilling to beg. I have applied to Mr. N. Vansittart but find that with all the labors of his office he possesses very little of its patronage. My dear Mr. Hastings, I know how much you have *now* to ask for yourself, and how painful it must be to a spirit like yours to ask for any thing. Heaven forbid that I should add an atom to the weight of that humiliation which you of all men who ever lived have the least merited. All I request is that you will keep your eyes open for me, and that if an appointment should in Falstaff's language *happen to lay in your way*, you will endeavour to pick it up for my use. Comparing our solid pretensions it was certainly ten thousand times more probable that Halhed should obtain an office than that I should; and yet considering how proudly he disdained all solicitation how peremptorily he estranged himself from all the paths which lead to worldly advancement, considering too that it is not always the best who are chosen, and that the race is not invariably to the swift, not the battle to the strong, my attainment of employment would hardly seem a greater miracle than his has been, and as his conversation generally exalts my mind in the contemplation of heavenly things so does his fortune in this instance, humble and far beneath his talents as it is, purge my earthly views of some of the gloom and horror which hang upon them.

You will I am sure be glad to know that Mr. Edward Parry has given a Bengal writership to my eldest son, George. He is to be entered at Haileybury College on the

19th of next month, and will probably proceed to India by one of the first ships of 1814. As far as generosity and the purest disinterestedness can do honor to a man Mr. Parry is exalted by the favor he has thus conferred on me. He granted it even without solicitation, and without the possibility of any other reward than the consciousness of doing good. All my seven children are now at home, and so entirely do I devote my very inadequate powers to their education that I have not yet allowed myself time to visit the Andersons who are at Dawlish within four miles of me. They are I think all well disposed and six of them seem to have good constitutions. My third boy named Warren Hastings after his Godfather is very far from robust, and an attention to his health combined with other circumstances makes it expedient for us to remain in Devonshire. I have not yet been able either to let or sell Penton. I hope my friend Sir Chas. Imhoff and his Lady are well and happy. Mr. and Mrs. Woodman have also my sincere good wishes. It was with pleasure I saw in the papers that she had presented him with a child. Amongst the innumerable arguments in support of our future existence in some other world is the impossibility of living over again in this, and profiting by the experience which we so painfully gain. Were I now in the situation I was twenty years ago I would not be so widely separated from you as I have been, but all regrets are useless.

GEO. NESBITT THOMPSON.

[Addressed to :—]

WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.,  
No. 6, Portugal Street,  
Grosvenor Sqr.,  
London.

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No. 165.

HANSARD AND SONS—PRINTERS  
TURN STILE

NEAR LINCOLNS INN FIELDS,

*Saturday, 17th April 1813.*

5 o'clock.

My dear and hond. Sir,

I had been into the City and upon my return from thence, I received your letter of yesterday. I immediately applied myself to the execution of the commission contained in it and after having sought the proper printer in various places, I have at length found him here. I expected an immediate answer to my questions, but understanding that the proposed work is to be executed at your own expense, he wishes to be as precise as possible in his reply, and requests therefore a little time for the consideration of it. He promises me, however, that he will send it to my lodgings some time this evening. You will of course receive it as soon as you arrive on

Monday, and I shall be in the way to receive your instructions. I wrote to my dear Mrs. Hastings yesterday. I am engaged to dine in Hereford Street at the top of Oxford Road and must for the present therefore take my leave of you. Present my kind regards to all your party and believe me to be my dear and hond. Sir,

Most faithfully yours,  
GEO. NESBITT THOMPSON.

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No. 166.

LONDON,  
17th May 1813.

My dear Sir John,

Mr. Hastings has already sent you his evidence before the House of Commons on the India question. By his desire, I have now the pleasure to forward to you that which he delivered before a Committee of the House of Lords. I wish you were now in England for many reasons, but particularly that you might participate in the triumph which our great friend has obtained over all his enemies. He has not, I believe one remaining. Those whom death has spared, remorse has converted into friends, and I am most perfectly convinced there is not at this moment a man in England the worth of whose private and public character is more universally and indisputably admitted than his is. I accompanied him to the House of Commons when he went to give his evidence. Whilst we were sitting in the Speaker's room with other witnesses, Sir Thomas Plumer came to us, and I congratulated him on the very different auspices under which we now assembled from those which formerly brought us there. He heartily participated in this feeling, and earnestly said "did you not hear just now the noise in the house." Upon our answering in the negative he added "I made sure "you must, for when Mr. Hastings's name was mentioned and a motion made that he "might be offered a chair a louder acclamation followed than I ever remember to have "heard within its walls." At the close of his evidence the members influenced by one common sentiment of respect rose spontaneously, and taking off their hats, stood whilst he retired. You who know the warmth and generosity of his heart will readily conceive how forcibly it was touched and how delightfully affected by so unequivocal, unlooked for, and rare a testimony of public esteem. His reception before the Lords was hardly less flattering. The Duke of Gloucester at his own request called upon him, and took him in his chariot to the house, waited with him in one of the chambers till he was summoned, accompanied him into the Committee Room, attended whilst he gave his evidence, and at its close conducted him back again to his Royal Highnesses Chariot. Whilst before the Lords he was accommodated with a seat, an honor which I am told is almost unprecedented. Throughout the whole investigation the most marked attention has been paid both to his person and his opinions. The very officers of both houses even to the printers of their proceedings as well as the persons employed by the East India Company seem to have vied with each other in manifesting

their respect for him. You will not fail to observe that he gave his testimony under disadvantages not felt by other witnesses. Being the person who was first examined in both Houses, he was a guide and pioneer to his followers shewing and clearing the way not merely for those who were to answer the questions, but for those who were to ask them. Neither the Commons, nor the Lords, nor even the Council seemed at first distinctly to see their course, and when you compare the direct, luminous and copious answers which he gave to questions frequently indistinct, irrelevant and unpointed, you will I think perceive that at the very outset of the enquiry he enlarged and liberalized its scope and tendency, confirmed the succeeding witnesses, and gave to their evidence that firmness, decision, expansion and consistency by which it is upon the whole so remarkably and so honourably distinguished.

As I know Mr. Hastings has lately written to you, I shall say nothing of his situation or views. He intended to have left town last Tuesday, but he was on the preceding day attacked by a fever, the consequence of a cold, and was obliged to delay his departure till Friday when he left town for Daysford in a state of convalescence and with the prospect of a speedy and complete recovery. Mrs. Hastings was remarkably well.

I formerly wrote to you concerning your pecuniary transactions with Mrs. Hastings. I now enclose for your information the copy of a letter which I lately addressed to Messrs. Butler and Burrowes on the same subject. I earnestly wish that the two policies of insurance may be found in the possession of Mr. Edmd. Grange ; but I have the pleasure of informing you that even if they should be lost, we may recover their amount from the office on giving them a bond of indemnity against any person who may hereafter produce them.

I was sorry to hear from Mr. Hastings that you had lately suffered much indisposition. Sincerely wishing you a return of health with every other blessing, I remain dear Sir, John,

Very truly yours,

GEO. NESBITT THOMPSON.

If you should be disposed to favor me with a letter be so kind as to direct it to the care of Messrs Boehm and Tayler.

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No. 167.

*Friday, 21st May 1813,*

My dear and hond. Sir,

I attentively examined both the manuscript copies of your evidence before the Lords, and found in each several errors. Most of these were attributable to the transcribers, but some I conceive exist in the printed original, since they were exactly alike in both the copies. Of the latter the following are the principal examples ; I cannot give you them all because I altered them so neatly that I could not afterwards

retrace them. Having no *printed* copy of the evidence I cannot refer you to its pages. About the middle of your answer to question 5, it is thus written :—

"But I possess as strong a proof as I believe it is possible to give of the truth of the *opinion which I have delivered twenty years ago : the same opinion was delivered in an address to, etc.*

I have thus altered it : "but I possess as strong a proof as I believe it is possible to give of the truth of the opinion which I have delivered. Twenty years ago, etc.

Towards the close of your answer to question 11 is thus written—

"few [Mahomedans high in office] now remain besides the pensioners left upon the *country of Government*" altered "upon *the Government of the country.*" Near the close of the answer to the last question 21 "in no other light am I permitted to *view* : altered "to view *it* :"

I write under apprehensions of losing the post and my frank. So farewell.

GEO. NESBITT THOMPSON.

Between the 20th and 30th lines of the 5th answer there is some little obscurity It is thus written : "because the permission granted to them was not a permission of the ruling power of the Company as formerly, but as a superior authority, it would, etc.," altered "but of a superior authority"—the pointing of the whole passage corrected beginning : "by agencies," "by permission," etc.

No. 168.

GLOUCESTER COFFEE HOUSE PICCADILLY,

Friday, 21st May 1813.

My dear Madam,

I return you many thanks for your kind letter. From Halhed, Baker and Mr. Penniston I have received favourable reports of your honoured husband. I assured myself of his speedy recovery and rejoice in the confirmation of my hopes.

I have written both to Sir John Doyley and General Palmer. I send you a copy of the former letter because it is much the shortest of the two, and because it will shew you what I have said to Sir John concerning your claims on him. The paper you transmitted to me is of no use. I did not indeed expect to find the policies in your possession.

My concerns are precisely as you left them. My young friend has been absent from London the whole of the week and I know not when I am to be taken off the rack, and restored to my poor children. On Monday next, if Mrs. Barton in the meantime finds no fault with her Cabriole, I shall pay for it. You will see by my letter to Sir John, that I sent him a copy of the one which I wrote to his Agent and which I read to you. The copy of Sir John's letter may be sent to him as a duplicate, for which purpose I beg you return it to me, unless for any reason you may wish to

keep it. A violent hail storm is now darkening and battering my windows. Your Goshen I hope is shining in the sun. With every wish for the united happiness of yourself and Mr. Hastings, I am,

My dear Madam, most gratefully yours,

GEO. NESBITT THOMPSON.

[Addressed to :—]

MRS. HASTINGS,

Daysford House,

Chipping Norton.

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No. 169.

LONDON,

Monday, 24th May 1813.

My dear and hond. Sir,

I am come to take an early dinner with our good friend Halhed, being engaged to accompany his wife and two of his nieces to a musical entertainment. They are both of them amiable girls, and one of them has a most delightful voice with exquisite taste in the use of it. All she wants to render her a charming singer is an opportunity of hearing skilful performers and it is to give her one such opportunity that I am now in attendance here. Whilst thus employed in the service of female youth and innocence I seem to be rendering a grateful offering to the memory of my departed daughter.

Whether you are to have a long or a short letter will depend upon the race which I am now running against Halhed's cook.

I went to the vote office this morning and had the pleasure to find that all the corrected copies of your evidence had been taken up by members except 14 and that the notice still remained stuck up in the office.

I also attended the East India Committee, and had the satisfaction of being present when the Company's Council closed their evidence. I am indeed but just returned from thence. When the Company had closed the Chairman called on the opponent petitioners for their evidence. An agent on the part of each of those several bodies successively declared that they were so well satisfied with the evidence given by the Company and so desirous of bringing the business to a conclusion that though they had much information to offer they would decline the production of it. Mr. Keene then addressed the committee saying that he wished to examine Mr. Abercrombie Robinson who having served in high stations abroad and being now a Director at home would he conceived be a most important witness. It was objected that this proposal now come too late, and Robinson stated that though he was very willing to be examined if the committee should require his evidence yet he rather hoped they might not think it essential and that at any rate he could not be forward



in obtruding it, since though in delivering it he should be studious to divest it of all partiality, it would still be liable to the suspicion of it. After a long discussion the committee agreed not to receive the evidence, and adjourned till Thursday next for the purpose of receiving some papers from the witness who had been last examined and giving him an opportunity of correcting his evidence, The cook is at the goal and dinner is on the table, farewell.

G. N. THOMPSON.

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No. 170.

GLOCESTER COFFEE HOUSE,

*Saturday, 12th June 1813.*

My dear and hond. Friend,

The loan with which your bounty supplied me has been the sole support of myself and my family ever since I received it. With all my frugality it is now exhausted, and a demand which has just now been made on me compels me, but with what reluctance Heaven only knows, to have recourse once more to your assistance. If Mr. Hastings can now let me have his exchequer Bills to the amount of £100 he will render me a most important service, and I think I shall be able soon to replace them. My prospect of doing this depends I must however confess upon the accomplishment of that plan which was formed for my relief before you left London, and which is not yet completed. I have not since seen the young friend whose kindness is to give it effect, but from all I hear of him I cannot doubt either his means or his intention to perfect it. The draft of the deed is prepared and Mr. Forster intends laying it before him with a request that the business may be speedily completed. I have thought it proper to enter into this detail that you may see distinctly all the security I can offer for the repayment of the loan which I thus take the liberty of soliciting. I write under some agitation and in much hurry. On Tuesday I will write to you more fully and send you a statement of the account between us. I pray God to bless you both with his best gifts and am, my dear and hond. friends,

Most faithfully yours,

GEO. NESBITT THOMPSON.

Have you seen Lord Grenville's speech on the Company's Affairs as printed by himself in the form of a pamphlet? If not I will endeavour to procure it for you. It is scarce, well-composed, deficient in wisdom, and very wicked.

[Addressed to :--]

WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.,

Daysford House,

Chipping Norton.

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No. 171.

GLOCESTER COFFEE HOUSE,

*Tuesday, 15th June 1813.*

Ten thousand thanks, my dear and hond. Sir, for your prompt and truly kind compliance with my request. Templar tells me that you have no Exchequer Bill for a less sum than £ 500. He says therefore that you must direct a Bill for £ 500 to be sold, and after paying to me £ 100 of its produce to reinvest the remainder for his use. This may be in the form of a letter, and will require no stamp. The enclosed note on that subject is in his handwriting. I called on Mr. Nich. Vansittart this morning, who enquired how my business went on, and said he would endeavour to quicken his nephew's motions in the conduct of it. He at the same time at my request gave me a copy of Lord Grenville's printed speech. I think better of it on a second reading than I did on the first; though I still think it with reference to existing circumstances very sophistical, with respect to his past conduct and opinions extremely inconsistent, and in relation to his future views jesuitical and selfish. Were the Dominion of Asia offered as a new gift to this country, and were we considering of the best mode of governing it his Lordship's system would be entitled to much more consideration than it is at present; but even then I think it would be utterly incompatible with the preservation of the purity of our constitution, unless guarded by provisions which his Lordship has not yet suggested. To adopt it at present would be absolute robbery of the Company, and the sacrifice of approved practical utility to untried and questionable theories. The speech, however, is calculated to impose upon the multitude, and ought to be answered, which I think might be done with considerable effect. The Bill is going. On my second reading of the pamphlet I made some hasty remarks on passages that appeared to me liable to objection, the remarks were written on scraps of paper and intended only as hints for further consideration. I will transcribe as many of them as time will permit. You would do well in reading the speech to make similar memorandums of your observations. I will write to my dear Mrs. Hastings very soon with unfeigned gratitude to both of you. I remain my dear and hond. Sir,

Yours most faithfully,

GEO. NESBITT THOMPSON.

The bell is calling for my letter with such tormenting clamour that it is impossible for me to transcribe my remarks. The speech is not to be bought, nor have I been able to get a copy of it for my own use.

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No. 172.

*Wednesday, 16th June 1813.*

My dear and hond. Sir,

In my race yesterday against time, I was beat by about two minutes and so lost the post to my very great vexation. About an hour ago, I met Henry Vansittart in a situation where we could not avoid each other. After much mutual embarrassment he asked me how I went on with my business. I told him that the deed was prepared, and that we now only waited for his assistance. I will not detail the whole of the conversation, since its words would give you of course, but a very imperfect idea of it. My suffering under it will admit of no description. It is enough for you to know that not only myself, but both Mr. Forster and Mr. Nicholas Vansittart had misconceived his intentions. He says that he expressly told them that "all he could do to assist me" was to give his security for the loan, but that "he could not find a lender." He certainly must have best known his own intentions, and the misconception of them. I attribute solely to the difficulty he felt of being explicit in a declaration which he knew must give me pain, and to the inclination which both my friends must have felt to put that construction on his words which was most favourable to their wishes and my welfare. I am sure he would assist me to the utmost of his means, I am indeed fallen from the height of my hopes, but not absolutely into despair. The Lord is mighty to save, and on his mercy, I repose myself. Assisted by my efficient and able friend Forster, I may still surmount my difficulties. I impart them to you not merely to unburthen my mind, but because I should be deficient in common honesty as well as in candour were I to conceal them from you. My way is strewed with thorns, George came home from the East India College about ten days ago, much grown and looking in vastly better health than when he went there. To have sent him to Exmouth and brought him back again would have been attended with great expense, and I besides flattered myself that before his vacation should be half over, his mother and the rest of my children would have been coming to Penton or somewhere nearer London, I therefore readily accepted for him an invitation from Wroughton in London and from Scott to Egham. He left the house of the former on Monday last for that of the latter; whilst in town, I had an opportunity of shewing him some things which he ought to see before he leaves England, and at Egham he will in the precepts and example of my truly excellent friend Scott have advantages which he could not *now* possess at Exmouth.

My remarks are not worth my transcribing or your reading, especially as the Ministers will carry their point in opposition to Lord Grenville as well as to the Company.

His Lordship's arguments as directed against the Company are bad, against Ministers they are good. For as Ministers are not restrained by any veneration for the antiquity and approved utility of the existing structure from attempting very hazardous alterations of it, they are bound to take it down and rebuild it, if that procedure can be proved the best and cheapest.

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No. 173.

GLOCESTER COFFEE HOUSE,

*Saturday, 19th June 1813.*

My dear and hond. Sir,

I yesterday received your truly kind letter, and with it every ray of peace and consolation that has beamed on me since I last wrote to you. May God reward both yourself and the excellent partner of your goodness,

I have yet heard nothing further from my young friend. I this morning breakfasted with his uncle. They were to meet this morning if the nephew should return from Oatlands, whither he was gone to pass part of the Epsom Races with the Duke of York.

I found from Miss Vansittart's conversation that there is great apprehension on the part of her friends that the clause authorizing the introduction of missionaries into India will be lost. From the debates it is evident that Lord Castlereagh does not intend to incumber the other objects of his Bill with this, but to make it the subject of a separate one. Thus left to itself, it will I think be lost. I shall endeavour to get a sight of the paper which you have sent to Mr. Thornton, and shall not fail to suggest to Toone any means which may occur to me for giving to the public the benefit, and to yourself the credit of it.

Remember me most affectionately to my dear Mrs. Hastings and believe me most truly yours.

GEO. NESBITT THOMPSON.

[Addressed to :—]

WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.,

Daylsford House.

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No. 174.

GLOCESTER COFFEE HOUSE,

*Tuesday, 6th July 1813.*

My dear and hond. Sir,

The Town of course is in a blaze with Lord Wellington's Victory, and most sincerely do I rejoice in his honors. Great and well merited as they

are, however, they do not come home to my own business and bosom with so warm and rapturous a feeling as do those which you received at Oxford. My friend Bosanquet was present at the commemoration and has sent me not only the Oxford paper which mentions the proceedings on that occasion, but has given me his own account of your very distinguished share in them. I have seen the like in a very well written letter from Mr. Atkins to his uncle Mr. Halhed, and have heard besides others speak on the subject. It may I think be truly said that you conferred more honor on the degree than the degree conferred on you. At any rate it was seed falling on good ground that produced such extraordinary fruit. How trivial the honor is in itself is visible from the very little lustre which it seems to have shed round most of the other heads on which it at the same time alighted : on yours it became a crown of glory, nor indeed can anything better prove the daily increasing sense of your merits, and the place which is likely to be allotted to you in the page of history than that a spark feeble and transient as this generally is should in your case have produced so singular an explosion. I confess I had always considered you as one of those extraordinary characters whose meed is persecution, and who being too good for the world must be removed from it before they are honoured. For the credit of my countrymen, I am glad to find myself deceived in this opinion. I am to congratulate both yourself and Mrs. Hastings not only on good acquired, but on evil avoided. Most heartily do I rejoice that a dog even though mad would not bite either of you. This is more than I could at one time say of man.

I have not been able to obtain a sight of the letter referred to in your evidence. Toone tells me it has been put upon the records of the Company and will be published with the rest of the proceedings.

Your worthy neighbour Mr. Lee I observe has been relieved from the care of riches, and gone to receive the reward which awaits that very difficult and rare virtue the proper use of them. Do not forget to procure for me if you easily can a settlement on the domain of his successor. I know not what is to become of me. After having long remained the sport of alternate hopes and fears, my young friend declared that he was still willing to become security for the sum necessary to my immediate relief but that I *must* myself find a lender of it. Beyond my hopes, my kind friend Scott offered me so much money from his marriage settlement, but that for this his trustees would of course require *landed security*. Mr. N. V. mentioned the proposal to his nephew who at first entertained it as if he thought it practicable. A few days ago, however, he rejected it, and I have ever since remained without any prospect of relief, and with no other support than a reliance on that power which feedeth the ravens. Yours has been the hand which under his kind providence has supplied the food he intended for me

and my little ones. Need I assure both yourself and Mrs. Hastings of my gratitude and affection,

GEO. NESBITT THOMPSON.

[Addressed to:—]

WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.,  
Daylsford House,  
Chipping Norton.

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No. 175.

APPLESHAW NEAR ANDOVER,

*Saturday, 23rd October 1813.*

My dear and hound. Sir,

Your kind letter of the 15th has found me in the house of my friend Col. Duke whose guest, I have been for this fortnight past. The preceding fortnight I had passed at Penton Lodge in preparing it for the reception of Mr. Weld who with his family is now in possession of it. He has taken it for one year with a view to the future purchase of it. Thus far I have got rid of one difficulty, but many yet remain which I know not how I shall surmount. I have during the last fortnight been chiefly employed in settling the terms of many minute exchanges of land with some of my neighbours under an act which has been passed for enclosing the adjoining Parish of Weyhill. Business is not always difficult in proportion to its importance; it frequently requires as much negociation and address to adjust the limits of a cabbage garden as to fix the boundaries of an empire. But I have had in this matter to do with people who are willing to oblige me, and I shall therefore effect my object. My grand and disheartening difficulties are yet to be encountered, and as they require kindness and cordiality in a quarter where I am likely to find nothing, but perverseness and counteraction I hardly know how I am to meet much less how I am to surmount them. On Monday next I intend returning to my quarters at the Gloucester Coffee House for the purpose of finishing the business which has so long kept me from my family, and in the progress of which I have met with obstacles which I never expected, and which I am sure it would never have entered into your generous heart even to have conceived. I am glad you have never *written* to Mr. Leigh on the subject which I wished him to consider. It is one of much delicacy, and can be properly introduced and discussed only in a personal interview, and not even then unless under a combination of very favourable circumstances.

When I return to London I shall write to my dear Mrs. Hastings on her concerns. I have never lost sight of them for a moment since she left London, and all the letters which have been addressed to me at Daysford had them for their subject. Present to her my most affectionate regards and believe me to be, as I truly am,

Yours most faithfully,  
GEO. NESBITT THOMPSON.

[Addressed to :—]  
WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.,  
Daysford House,  
Chipping Norton.

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No. 176.

EXMOUTH,  
*Saturday, 16th April 1814.*

My dear and hond. Sir,

I thank you for your letter of the 11th, which did not reach me till yesterday when there was from hence no post to London. On the 11th I had written to Mrs. Hastings and to Mr. Powney and sent to each a copy of a letter from Mr. Grainge in which that gentleman offers to become if necessary a security to the Assurance Office against any demands arising from the future production of the policies. But as he says that it would be extremely inconvenient for him to repair to London for that purpose, I am glad that we are able to dispense with his services.

I am glad that the abstract which I made from your letter before I burnt it meets the approbation of Mrs. Hastings and yourself, and I am thankful to both for your promise of standing by me should I need support. By the mail of to-night I shall send a long letter to Mr. Forster informing him of my present situation. With respect to what has occurred since I last came to Exmouth it is not so full as that which I addressed to yourself and Mrs. Hastings. It wholly omits amongst other things the offensive terms in which Mrs. Thompson spoke of him. But it takes up my history at an earlier period, and contains some things which I could wish you to see, since they would, I trust, help to palliate that improvidence to which I owe much of my present misery. You I am sure will readily find some excuse for me; for consider, my dear Sir, what would have been your own condition had the East India Company deserted you, and had you not possessed a wife whose singular generosity and splendid taste were guided by an enlightened system of economy, and by the utmost anxiety for the welfare of

her husband. I am poor and in need, and Mr. Forster thinks me culpable for being so. But he is a good though a severe man, and I submit to his chastisement as proceeding from one who loves me. He lives very near you at a corner house in Bentinck Street, between Cavendish and Manchester Squares. I wish it were possible for you to meet and to determine on a view of all the circumstances of my condition the course which I ought to pursue.

In a former letter you alluded to a subject which I have not since adverted to, but which I think it now incumbent on me to notice. As you are in London, Mr. Henry Powney will probably find you out. He has I daresay already represented you as the patron of himself and his pretensions. Neither are worthy of you. He came home as an enemy to the East India Company, with a persuasion that all public men particularly the Directors were corrupt, and with an intention apparently of being outdone by none of them in the laxity of his political principles. He conceived he had claims on the Company for an interruption of his commercial pursuits. I told him he had none. But he obstinately persisted in a contrary belief, and employed *Mr. Troward* to prepare his memorial. It was so very badly done that, finding it utterly impossible to deter him from making his claims, I thought it would be charitable at least to put them into an intelligible form, and I therefore prepared the petition of which you were pleased to speak so favourably. I told him at the same time that his claim rested not on the justice but wholly on the clemency of the Company. To this he has forfeited all pretensions; for to the utmost extent of his very despicable talents he has been the bitterest of their enemies. He has staid so long in England that he is in danger of losing the service at Ceylon, and the greatest benefit that you or any of his friends can render him is to assist in averting that calamity, for in it would be involved his inevitable ruin. Nothing but my duty to you should induce me to speak thus freely of him. If he troubles you, consult his brother George, who knows him, and is anxious to save him.

Remember me kindly to my very dear friends Mr. and Mrs. Halhed. I am sure your company renders them very happy. Their hospitality is of the most genuine and primitive sort, for it has nothing of ostentation in it. Though if it had, it would I am sure be gratified in having you for their guest. Farewell,

GEO. NESBITT THOMPSON.

[Addressed to :—]

WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.,  
at Nathaniel B. Halhed's Esq.,  
20-Charles Street, London.



No. 177.

EXMOUTH,

*Saturday, 16th July 1814.*

My dear Madam,

I have just now closed a letter to Mr. Hastings which I could hardly prevail on myself to write. But he has all his life been destined to suffer for the faults of others. Such indeed has been the lot of all the purest spirits that have ever visited this world of sin and sorrow. I have been the more unwilling to break in upon him at this time because I considered him as now receiving some retribution, however inadequate, for his past injuries. I have always considered his trial as a sort of prologue to the disordered drama which so soon followed, and upon the tragic scenes of which the curtain is so lately dropped. It was, but strict justice that he should be rewarded in the denouement and every lover of virtue will regret that the piece has not in this respect been more perfect. But I think you must have often heard me observe that in this life honors and titles are the rewards of ordinary merit; there is a degree of virtue which the world will not bear, and the meed of this has invariably been persecution. So that upon the whole you have upon this principle escaped better than might have been expected, thanks to his long life.

I am, believe me, dear Madam,

most truly yours,

GEO. NESBITT THOMPSON.

[Addressed to:—]

MRS. HASTINGS.

No. 178.

EXMOUTH,

*Friday, 22nd July 1816.*

My dear and hond. Sir,

I thank you for your kind letter of the 16th, which I received on Monday last. On the same day, I hope you received from me a voluminous packet which I had taken the liberty of sending to you by the mail on the preceding Saturday. I have since received a letter from my unfortunate daughter Charlotte and send you an extract of that part of it which the poor child was compelled to write by the express orders of her mother, together with a copy of my answer to it; conceiving that both are necessary for the inspection of yourself and of whomever else may be disposed to assist in the charitable, but I fear ineffectual attempt to terminate my domestic embarrassments. I must here repeat that my chief solicitude is for the temporal and

eternal welfare of my children. To provide for this by whatever efforts and whatever sacrifices is a duty so transcendently incumbent on me that no consideration on earth shall induce me to desert it. Upon the terms I have mentioned in my former letter, I am willing that for a time, a year or two, my two daughters may remain under the charge of Mrs. Thompson; but I will not relinquish the unalienable right of watching over her conduct towards them, nor of reclaiming them whenever I shall think it my duty to do so. Looking to the very worst, and supposing myself reduced to the condition of a day-labourer I can still conceive it possible that it may be for their benefit to participate in that humble lot, rather than to remain under her exclusive care.

I do not wish unnecessarily to expatiate on this very painful and delicate part of the subject. If called upon I can prove that the apprehensions I feel on account of my children are but too well-grounded.

I am my dear and hond. Sir,  
most truly yours,  
GEO. NESBITT THOMPSON.

[Addressed to :—]

THE RIGHT HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS.

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No. 179.

EXMOUTH,  
*Saturday, 3rd September 1814.*

My dear and hond. Friend,

Since I last wrote to you, I have not heard either from Lincolns Inn, or from Ireland on Mrs. Hastings's concerns. I flatter myself therefore that the Insurance Office has paid the money due on the two policies, and that she has as far as this extends recovered what was due to her.

I received Mr. Hastings's letter of the 9th of last month. Till then, I knew not he was to act as Umpire between the two Arbitrators, Mr. Forster and Mr. Taylor. He was much mistaken in supposing that they had finished their award. They have not I believe even begun it. They were obstructed at the very threshold, and I do not know how they have disposed of the difficulty which Mrs. Thompson there opposed to them. As Mr. Hastings may in his character of Umpire be called upon to remove it, I do not think it becomes me even to describe the nature of it, but to leave the statement of the question wholly to the discretion of the Arbitrators.

Upon the reference in general, I may say, as Mr. Hastings himself has done, that I hardly hope it can lead to any satisfactory or decisive conclusion. Nothing but my poverty, and a desire of saving Mrs. Thompson's reputation induced me to yield to it. I knew well that it was only in a Court of Justice that I could receive anything like "indemnity for the past or security for the future," and that even under the sanction of such an authority those objects would be, but very imperfectly attained.

I have hitherto refrained from addressing any of the Vansittarts on the subject of Mrs. Thompson's conduct, not wishing to take a step so prejudicial to her character unless I shall find it indispensably necessary to the salvation of my own. I trust that had either of you conceived me to be suffering by this forbearance you would have told me so. The tender solicitude, the acute sensibility with which I have regarded everything calculated in the slightest degree to affect the reputation of either of you, encourages me to hope that you would have apprized me of any danger that threatened mine. My good name indeed is all that I can now expect to save from the ruin which involves me. Naked, beyond other men, came I into the world, and naked shall I depart from it, but still not stripped I hope of that fair fame which I have laboured to merit, and which as a husband I am sure belongs to me.

Mrs. Thompson is living with her two daughters in Holles Street, and though not splendidly, at an expence I fear very much exceeding her means.

What is to become of myself I really know not. As soon as I can pay my debts at this place I shall break up house-keeping, and go forth into the world in search of food for myself and children.

The letters which I have received from Mr. Hastings are in themselves proofs of the extraordinary vigor of his mind and body at his advanced age, and they give me the express assurances of Mrs. Hastings's health. I rejoice in both, and fervently wish you the long enjoyment of these and all other blessings.

If Mr. Hastings now wants a copy of the Pig of Borval I can send him one.

I am my dear and hond. friends with the highest  
gratitude and esteem most truly yours,

GEO. NESBITT THOMPSON.

[Addressed to:—]

THE RIGHT HON'BLE. WARREN HASTINGS,  
Daylsford House,  
Chipping Norton.

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No. 180.

EXMOUTH,

Friday, 9th September 1814.

My dear and hond. Friend,

I have just now received your letter of the 6th, and I put aside other very urgent employment to thank you for it, not finding it easy to resist the impulse of gratitude and affection which it has given to my spirits. Let not my dear Mrs. Hastings repent of any warmth she has ever manifested in behalf of her friends. This glow of heart is not the portion of ordinary beings. It is a particle of the divine nature which Heaven has allotted only to its favourites. In her it is a virtue by which she has always been distinguished, and for which I have chiefly loved and admired her. By the by, I just now recollect what I heard Mr. Hastings say full 30 years ago. We were talking of Tom Jones when he observed there was not a passage in the book which more delighted him than that wherein a Mrs. Williams (I think this is her name) breaks out into a vehement defence of the character of Tom Jones at the very moment it was most strongly impeached, in defiance of all awe of her superiors, and in opposition to the most discouraging appearances. A very recent occurrence will give to my dear friend and patroness the gratification of knowing that her representations to Miss Vansittart have already been highly serviceable to me. On Tuesday last, I accidentally met Mr. Edwd. Parry and his two daughters as they were passing through this place in their way to Plymouth. It was not my intention to have said a single word to them on the subject of my domestic miseries, conceiving them to have no knowledge of their existence. But to my great surprize, Mr. Parry offered me his condolence. Upon asking him how he had heard of my situation, he told me that during the last 6 weeks he had been residing at Sidmouth, a place distant from hence about 10 miles. That soon after his arrival there he heard it reported that Mrs. Thompson was out of her mind, and that one of his daughters had written to Miss Vansittart to inquire into the truth of the report. To which inquiry Miss Vansittart replied that "*she did not believe this to be the case, but that things were very bad,*" these as well as I can recollect were Mr. Parry's words. Finding him thus partially informed on the subject, I thought it best that he and his daughters should know it accurately, and I therefore put into their hands three of the many letters which I have been compelled to write on it. The young ladies made no observation on them, but I found that they produced their due effect on the mind of their father, confirming in it those opinions which he had before formed from his own observation and from general report. This anecdote

alone will I hope be enough to reconcile Mrs. Hastings to the generous part she has taken in behalf of an injured man.

GEO. NESBITT THOMPSON.

[Addressed to :]—

THE RIGHT HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS,  
Daylsford House,  
Chipping Norton.

No. 181.

EXMOUTH,

Thursday, 13th October 1814.

My dear and hond. Friend,

I duly received your kind letter of the 4th, and great is the delight it gave me. I should not have lost a single post in thanking you for your very friendly invitation had I not waited to ascertain my means of accepting of it. I have now the happiness to tell you that I shall be able to leave this place in about a fortnight and to be at Daylsford probably within the following week, perhaps on Tuesday the 2nd November. Whatever other good I may derive from the visit, *this* I venture to promise myself, that I shall find you in good health, and once more witness the happiness and enjoy the society of my two dearest friends and greatest benefactors. It is long since I have seen Sir Chs. and Lady Imhoff and I shall be heartily glad to meet them. My two eldest sons are at the East Indian College, and my two youngest I shall place at school, so that I shall only have to "bestow on you my single tediousness" and that for no long time.

Mrs. Thompson is still living at No. 21 in Holles Street. The deed of separation is not yet executed, nor I believe finally prepared. Charlotte contrived so far to elude her mother's vigilance as to send me a private letter, though written evidently in haste it did honor to her head and heart. In hopes it might be of service both to herself and her poor little sister I transmitted it to Mr. Forster, who seems much pleased with it and speaks of it as an *extraordinary* composition. It has I believe enforced his attention to the covenants which are to bind Mrs. Thompson to the proper education of my daughters; but you will readily know how easily covenants of this sort are to be evaded. Where they are most wanted they will be the last regarded. But we must do our best; and leave the rest to the disposal of that Great Being whose mercy is over all his works, and who tempers the blast to the shorn lamb. With the utmost gratitude to both of you,

I am most faithfully yours,

GEO. NESBITT THOMPSON.

No. 182.

EXMOUTH,  
20th October 1814.

My dear and hond. Friend,

It has pleased God almost to overwhelm me with his bounties. I thank him first, and next my benefactors. He has raised up friends for me in my very utmost need, and in quarters where I could hardly expect to find them. With such a sense of his mercies how is it possible for me not to adore his goodness and to love my fellow creatures? I know my kind friends that you do not give out of your abundance, and that your means fall short not merely of your generosity, for that is boundless, but of those just and unavoidable claims which your condition in life imposes on you. The greater is your goodness, and the greater of course my thankfulness. With an elated and rapturous heart I am going to hear Catalani in the Cathedral at Exeter this morning. This is the only one amusement I have attended for these seven months, do not therefore suppose me extravagant. My conscience reproaches me! I took my boys to hear the musical glasses by Cartwright when he performed at this place. To add to my good luck I have received an application from a family which seems inclined to rent Penton. If the negotiation proceeds it may for a few days delay my arrival at Daysford. You did exactly what I could have wished in making known my situation to Sr. Chs. and Lady Imhoff. If their warm hearts felt so much at the little you could tell them how would they have swelled with indignation and melted with sorrow did they know all?

I have not heard from Mr. Forster nor directly from my daughters since I last wrote to you. But I this morning received a letter from Charlotte Powney who is living with Mrs. Scott in Baker Street in which she accounts for my eldest daughter's silence by telling me that she has hurt her finger. She gives me the comfort also of knowing that my daughters are attended by a daily governess.

Accept the warmest assurances of my gratitude and esteem and believe me, my dear Friends, most faithfully yours,

GEO. NESBITT THOMPSON.

[Addressed to: ]—

THE RIGHT HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS,  
Daysford House,  
Chipping Norton.

No. 183.

EXMOUTH,

*Monday Evening, 31st October 1814.*

My dear and hond. Friend,

It is with very great concern I find that I cannot be at Daylsford before to-morrow Sennt. the 8th instant. I sincerely regret this unavoidable delay, and should the more lament it if I thought it would deprive me of the happiness of meeting Sir Chs. and Lady Imhoff.

Coll. Wyatt has agreed to take the house and gardens at Penton till the 1st of May next. The rent is not great, but it is of importance to keep the house inhabited during the winter months.

I received a letter to-day from Mr. Forster in which he tells me that Mr. Taylor has not yet returned the draft of the articles of separation which had been sent to him for his perusal.

I am believe me,

most faithfully yours,

GEO. NESBITT THOMPSON.

No. 184.

NO. 321 CHELTENHAM,

*Wednesday, 11th January 1815.*

My dear and hond. Sir,

I send you the copy of a letter which I have just now received from Mr. Henry Powney. It confirms the apprehension I had entertained that he would elude the kind attempts which were made to get him quietly out of the Kingdom. How he has effected this, whether by an artful evasion of his promise, by an absolute defiance of his brother, or by any compromise between them you are probably much better informed than myself. I indeed know no more of the matter than his letter tells me. As Mr. George Powney did not follow your advice he acted with due delicacy and discretion in not shewing to his brother the letter which contained it. Upon the same principle I presume he suppressed the memorandum [? with which] I had supplied him. Had Mr. George Powney pursued the steps you recommended I daresay you would have as willingly consented on your part as I should on mine to his most unrestricted use of our communications. Henry Powney's moral sense is so defective as to render any correspondence with him dangerous. If he wished to know the contents of your letter to his brother he should have applied for them to yourself, and not to me. If I could serve him I would ;

but advice is utterly thrown away upon him ; to offer him any is to throw pearls before swine who not only rejects them, but turns again and rends you. For these reasons I shall not answer his letter. I send you a copy of it that you may know he is still in England. Wishing him all the good of which he is susceptible I am glad that he has at length after every species of insult to the Directors yielded to the necessity of throwing himself on their mercy. Small as is his claim to it, he has now nothing else to trust to. I have heard nothing either from Mr. Forster or my family since I last wrote to you. My second son Anstey is to leave me on Monday next for College. He and his elder brother George present their respectful compliments to all your party. I duly received Sir Charles's letter enclosing that addressed by Mrs. Hastings to her Trustees. With the sincerest wishes for the united health and happiness of yourself and Mrs. Hastings, Sir Chs. and Lady Imhoff,

I remain, most faithfully yours,

GEO. NESBITT THOMPSON.

[Addressed to :—]

THE RIGHT HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS,  
Daylsford House,  
Chipping Norton.

No. 185.

*Copy of a letter from Mr. Henry Powney addressed to Mr. Thompson at Daylsford House, received at Cheltenham, 11th January 1815.*

44, GREAT TITCHFIELD STREET,  
9th January 1815.

My dear Mr. Thompson,

I find that you are with Mr. Hastings, and hence arose the curious communication made by him to George Powney, who never called once since, I have landed in England\* till this epistle from Mr. Hastings honors me with his call.

I am afraid you are involved in your own distresses and family unpleasantness which has prevented your paying any attention to my letter, but as I have been unable to get on without waiting for your reply it has been of no consequence. My brother never shewed me Mr. Hastings's letter to him. I could wish therefore to know what *was* the contents of it. Things have been conducted towards me in so ungenerous and mysterious a way, producing

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\* i.e., Ireland about 9 months ago, or longer.



family quarrels, and creating broils that I am quite displeased with many parts of the family, and have purposely kept out of their way, or (*sic*) with a view to keep out of their family disputes and to prevent their interfering with my private concerns.

By the advice of Mr. Cockburn I have written in to the Court of Directors praying that they would recommend my claims for payment to the Rajah of Travancore, being on different grounds from my first application which was claiming compensation from the Court of Directors.

I beg you will present my best respects to Mr. and Mrs. Hastings and believe me, yours affectionately.

(Sd.) H. POWNEY.

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No. 186.

CHELTENHAM,

*Monday, 30th January 1815.*

My dear and hond. Friend,

I rejoice in the favourable report of your health, which is indeed confirmed by your letter, for it is written without any mark of indisposition. I rejoice that you are so well able to dictate to an amanuensis. What a glorious monument you would erect to your own memory, and what a valuable legacy you would bequeath to the world were you at this time of life to become your own historian! At all events I hope you will be furnishing materials for that highly important work, and thus aiding the labors of him, whoever he may be, who has the happiness to accomplish it.

I return both to Mrs. Hastings and yourself my best thanks for your kind invitation. You know I am always happy to be with you, but I fear I cannot have that pleasure before you go to London. Sincerely wishing you both all happiness,

I remain,  
my Dear Sir,  
most faithfully yours,  
GEO. NESBITT THOMPSON.

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No. 187.

AUDIT OFFICE,  
*5th April 1815.*

Dear Sir,

As you have hitherto accounted to me for the Volumes of Alcedo, I have so far infringed on the business of my publisher, as to desire I might myself

transmit to you the last volume on completion of my labors; and in this office I am the more readily engaged, as I have at the same time secured an opportunity of renewing my acknowledgements for the sanction which your name, amongst the rest of its early patrons, has afforded to the publication.

I had scarcely given to the world my first volume of information respecting the Western Hemisphere, when I had formed the design of compiling and writing a corresponding work on the Eastern Hemisphere, or, more particularly, of such part of the latter, as might be included within the British Dominion. As I proceeded, my resolution was partially carried into action; for amongst the literary researches in which I have been incessantly involved within the last six years, I have been enabled to lay by much useful information, and what is perhaps almost equally desirable, to acquaint myself with some of the best sources from which more might be drawn. As by far the most essential of the latter description of acquirements I have to distinguish the list of books and authorities which you had some time since, so obligingly drawn out for me, as necessary to be consulted for the completion of my design.

I well remember that whilst having the pleasure of conversing with you on the nature of currents, especially of those of the Eastern part of the world, you mentioned having put your thoughts to paper respecting their phenomena, and also of your having, with a probable view to ultimate publication, yourself collected and written much on the history of India, from its earliest records up to so late a period as the year 1760.

If, bent as I was on the execution of the plan above noticed, this assertion was calculated to excite my liveliest attention to the subject of which we were speaking, the remark by which it was followed has never since ceased to affect me most sensibly. I could not forget the expression of kindness and condescension in which, lamenting that you should not probably have courage to undertake the completion of your labors, you seemed to insinuate that the history might be satisfactorily continued by myself.

Now, with regard to the early state of India genuine and authentic accounts appear to be so much wanting, and so much discrimination of which I could never pretend to be master, necessary, that I should despair of being able to produce any thing to my own satisfaction, whilst knowing that the effects of such enquiries as yours are in existence. The subsequent annals, though, in another sense, not the *least* important, I should not despair of filling up by substituting for such abilities as I might want the aid of persevering industry and I might add some hope of literary distinction.

The work I have just completed has too recently appeared to have obtained already the final judgment of the world as to its merits or defects, but I can venture to promise that should you, sir, in the absence of any other

views respecting the publication of your valuable labors think fit to encourage my present pursuit, by suffering me, with due acknowledgements to yourself, to embody them in the work which I propose to undertake, I shall use my best endeavors to render it in every way deserving of your kindness.

I have the honor to be,

Dear Sir,

with sentiments of the highest esteem,  
your most faithful and obedient humble servant,

G. A. THOMPSON.

TO THE RIGHT HON. WARREN HASTINGS,

&c., &c., &c.

*P.S.*—Permit me to offer my best compliments to Mrs. Hastings. I called a few days since on Sir Charles and Lady Imhoff, and though not fortunate enough to find them at home, was happy to hear they were both well.

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No. 188.

At Col : Duke's,  
APPLESHAW, NEAR ANDOVER,  
*Thursday, 6th April 1815.*

My dear and hond. Friend,

My own situation is very precarious and unsettled. I am fearful that funds will not be found for carrying on the works of which I spake when I had last the pleasure of seeing you. My prospect therefore of employment from that source is a good deal obscured.

A letter written on Sunday will probably find me at this place. Accept my fervent wishes for your united welfare and believe me most faithfully yours.

GEO. NESBITT THOMPSON.

[Addressed to :—]

MRS. HASTINGS,  
Daylsford House,  
Chipping Norton.

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No. 189.

At John Fendall's Esq.  
SOMERSET HOUSE, CHELTENHAM,  
*Monday, 24th April 1815.*

My dear and hond. Friend,

You take so large a share in my afflictions that I should be absolutely ungrateful were I not to impart to you every circumstance that is calculated to alleviate them.

I yesterday and not sooner received a letter from Henry Vansittart informing me that he would be at the expence of sending George to India. I lost not a moment in imparting this joyful intelligence to my dear boy, who is now with his mother in London, and that he may not run his brother into any unnecessary expense I have requested my worthy friend Mr. Scott to superintend all his preparations for his voyage.

My Friend Fendall, being informed that the ship in which he had taken his passage was likely to be dispatched sooner than he had expected, wrote to me at Penton requesting me earnestly to come to him at this place. I set out immediately on horse-back and joined him here on Tuesday last. You will I am sure be sorry for his sake even more than mine that this worthy man, after embarking the whole of his fortune in the speculation which I described to you, will be compelled to abandon it for want of funds to prosecute it, and that more fortunate projectors are hereafter likely to reap the fruits of his labor.

Pray, let me know when you are likely to leave Daylsford, as I will if possible wait on you before your departure if it be but for a few hours.

Two years ago Mr. Hastings was so kind as to give me a letter recommending my son George to the notice of Lord Moira. I rejoice that my exalted friend has lived long enough to render this letter obsolete. He will perhaps have the goodness to give me another, stating, no matter how concisely, that my son and daughter are going to India, and requesting in their behalf such good offices as he may be graciously pleased to render them.

I am with real esteem and gratitude,  
most faithfully yours,

GEO. NESBITT THOMPSON.

This letter will be delivered to you by Mr. Geo. Powney Thompson, the eldest son of a gentleman who for some time previous to my departure from Bengal was my private and confidential secretary and for whom I retain the sincerest friendship. This young gentleman received his appointment two years ago, and looking to the probability of my decease before his departure, I at that time gave him a letter strongly recommending him to your Lordship's patronage. To that letter, I now take the liberty of referring your Lordship earnestly renewing the request contained in it. He is accompanied by his sister, Miss Charlotte Thompson, who is going to Bengal under the protection of Mr. and Mrs. Fendall.

[Apparently a rough draft, with many corrections—unsigned in G. N. Thompson's handwriting.]

[On back:—]

MR. THOMPSON,  
Hotel, Great Portland Street.

No. 190.

*A true copy made by me H. AUGS. THOMPSON —From CHARLOTTE.*

MADEIRA,

*Tuesday, 20th June 1815.*

My Beloved Papa,

The ship sails to-morrow which is to convey our letters to England. I therefore hasten to acquaint you with our safe arrival at this Island. Our ship appeared in sight of land on Friday, 9th; we landed on Sunday, 11th, and are now most comfortably lodged in the house of two of the most hospitable people, I ever met with, whose whole study since we have been with them, has been to give us as much amusement and to make us as happy as they possibly can, in which they have very well succeeded, I assure you; for I think, I never spent a week out of my dear Papa's society so pleasantly as since Sunday, the 11th of June. But having sounded their praises so warmly, you will no doubt be most anxious to know who they are. Pray, do not be surprized nor alarmed when you learn that they are two *young* and *pleasant* bachelors; their names are Shortridge and Lundy, and they are merchants. The Captain, the Purser, good Mr. Fendall's family Miss Thompson and myself are their guests. George is with the gentleman to whom we had a letter of introduction. There is no lady in that house, and therefore I preferred coming here as they were so kind as to ask me. From the day we parted, my beloved Papa, till two days before we left the ship, I never was free from sickness. My good friends were always with me, always attended me with the greatest kindness. I shall never, never forget it. Dear little Harriet has quite won my heart. She is the sweetest girl I have ever known, indeed they are all most amiable and are liked by everyone that knows them. I bless the Almighty every day for having provided me with such very kind friends. I am, now, thank God as perfectly happy as I can possibly be when you are not with me. I think of you constantly with the most tender and dutiful affection, and my greatest delight is to talk of you to our friends. I suppose dear Edward and Augustus are now with you: perhaps my good friend Anstey is also enjoying the pleasure of your society. I flatter myself you, none of you, forget the absentees. Neither George nor any of our party were at all sick. The former has been perfectly well since you saw him, is a very amiable youth, and behaves himself very correctly. I cannot describe to you the beauties of this delightful Island. I have been in raptures ever since I have been here. The country is most luxuriant. Every thing I now see here appears to me as fiction. We take walks among groves of myrtle, Geranium Effusia, honey suckle, roses, citron; the ground scattered in some places with apricots and

figs. Unfortunately this is not the season for grapes, but we see them hanging in clusters among the vineyards, not ripe. But whenever anything delights me, my thoughts turn to those beloved objects I have left behind, and long for them to be with me—so true is it that there is no joy without alloy. We expect to leave this on Thursday. Before you receive this letter I shall have completed my fifteenth year. I hope you did not forget to drink my health. If we had remained here till that day Mr. Shortridge was to have given a grand entertainment to us. He has already given us two balls. We have been extremely gay, either having company at home or going out every evening. We are going to a ball to-morrow night. Adieu, my beloved Papa, excuse the stupidity of this letter, and believe me your most dutiful and ever affectionate daughter.

CHARLOTTE THOMPSON.

Best love to the dear boys.

*P.S.*—In excuse for the defects of Augustus's copy, I must tell you he is not yet 11 years old.

G. N. T.

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No. 191.

RECTORY-PENTON,  
*September 1815.*

My dear and hond. Sir,

The distressed in general do not find it very difficult to hide themselves: their retirement is not much subject to be broken in upon by the solicitude of their acquaintance. It is not, however, so easy to elude the vigilance of your friendship. You resemble Job in the early days of his prosperity, for "you are eyes to the blind, and feet to the lame, and the cause which you know not you search out." Who is there therefore that would not rejoice to find that God is with you, and that after having been delivered up like that holy man to all that the malice of the devil and his agents could inflict, you are now in the full enjoyment of an old age which considering the scenes through which you have passed is almost patriarchal? For my own part, I do most fervently rejoice in beholding you thus blessed, and hail with delight this consolatory proof that were there no other world than this virtue would be still "a real good and not an empty name." If I had not before received a thousand proofs of the interest you take in what concerns me, the letter which I have just now received from you would convince me of it. I will not therefore apologize for troubling you with a brief history of myself since we parted. It is, I presume for this you have written. You left me in London. I remained there till Monday, 26th June.

No 192.

AUDIT OFFICE,  
16th September 1815.

Dear Sir,

Having through the recess, been absent some days from this place, and only having just returned from the country, with a view of transacting some private business, I have only just now been indulged with the favor of your communication. I am determined therefore to lose no time in answering that part of it which I have reason to think most interesting to both of us. My father is at present living at Penton, and as I learn by his letter now lying before me, intends remaining there till the end of this month for the purpose of furnishing a home to his two little boys during their holidays. He says nothing concerning the state of his health, but I hope from his silence on that subject, it is reasonable to conclude that he is in full enjoyment of that blessing.

The eleventh number of the Pamphleteer is just published, which I will forward to you at the beginning of next week, and at the same time mention, at your desire the little amount due on that account.

Requesting you will make my best compliments acceptable to Mrs. Hastings.

I have the honor to be,

Dear Sir,

with great gratitude and esteem your, very faithful and obedient servant,

G. A. THOMPSON.

TO THE RIGHT HON. WARREN HASTINGS.

No. 193.

GLOCESTER,  
Thursday, 6th June 1816.

My dear and hond. Sir,

Having some urgent business at Penton I took the opportunity of going thither whilst Anstey's presence at Gloucester enabled me to confide to him the care of his two little brothers during my absence. On coming home I received your kind letter of the 28th of May, and was delighted with it, not only for my own sake, but for yours: Towards myself it manifests an unabated continuance of that friendship, which ever since I possessed it, I have considered as my highest honor, and greatest happiness. In you it shews that time has neither shaken your hand, nor clouded your understanding, nor which is above all most creditable, chilled the warm

current of your generous soul. Your memory indeed has proved particularly retentive upon a point where that of most men, even in their prime of life, is very apt to fail. To say the truth I have literally *lived* upon that kind promise which you made to me when I was last at Daysford, and which Mrs. Hastings with no less kindness confirmed. Anstey's equipment for India will require no extension of your bounty beyond the limits which were then assigned to it; for his brother's liberality covers all his wants. Anstey went on Tuesday last to see his mother at Bath. The length of his stay there will depend upon the time of his departure for India. All the regular ships are gone. A private ship the *Hope*, about 529 tons is to sail early in August, and if it is found upon the enquiries which we are making, that it is prudent for him to proceed on her, he shall do so. I have requested information from Mr. Scott as to the probable continuance of Mr. Elliott in his Government at Madras, and if I find he is likely to remain there, I will take the liberty of troubling you for letters to him. Those you gave me to Earl Moira have been of infinite service to my children, and must I think therefore give you pleasure not only on their account, but on that of his Lordship and yourself, since you have thus an additional proof of his attachment to you. I yesterday received a letter from my friend Fendall dated Calcutta, 14th December 1815, in which speaking of my children he says, "*Lord Moira and the Countess have paid them both uncommon attention.*"

Your observations on the character of George are perfectly just and very gratifying to me. No human being ever possessed a better heart than he does, and this will always keep him right in spite of a very volatile and careless disposition, for the scriptures truly say that "*out of the Heart are the issues of life.*" This is the boy who at five years old used to toil after me through the ploughed fields, tumbling into the furrows like the awkward unwieldy puppy of a shepherd's dog. When he was about eight years old I was reading to him and the rest of my children from the Newspaper an account of two school boys who had been committed to goal on a suspicion of theft. At the end of it he said, "Papa, *don't you think they had better have died?*" When I told him of his sister Marian's death, he exclaimed, "*I did not love her half well enough,*" and fell from his chair. With such feelings as these the poor fellow may be liable to many errors and destined to many sufferings, but will I assure myself be always honourable and amiable.

As I have room, I will add what Fendall says of him in his last letter. The Doctor had attended him for an attack of the bile. "This and some half a dozen tumbles over a leaping bar, and two or three precipitate flights out of his friend Magniac's gig are I believe all the troubles which George



has had to encounter. Not that three hours every forenoon with his moonshy are to be considered as so many hours of pleasure, but as he believes the application necessary he bears the confinement with all due patience in the hope of being the sooner emancipated from College rules. Charlotte of course goes with us to Java. George I fear must remain in College. If I can get him with me I will."

I beg you will present my best regards to my excellent friend Mrs. Hastings and to Sir Chs. and Lady Imhoff, and believe me as I am most faithfully and gratefully yours.

GEO. NESBITT THOMPSON.

[Addressed to :—]

THE RIGHT HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS,  
Daysford House.

No. 194.

GLOUCESTER,  
*Saturday, 3rd August 1816.*

My dear Madam,

I am engaged to be at Cheltenham on Monday next. If I were sure I should find Mr. Hastings and yourself at home and perfectly disengaged, I would dine with you on Tuesday, and return to my children on Wednesday. If you can without the smallest inconvenience receive me on Tuesday, I beg you will have the goodness to tell me so, by a line directed to me at the Post Office at Cheltenham. If I do not hear from you I shall conclude that you are either not at home, or engaged with company, and shall of course not take the journey.

I thank Mr. Hastings most heartily for his kindness to Anstey. Though my son's departure for England had for many months anxiously employed his thoughts as well as my own, the means of effecting it remained so uncertain, and at length came so abruptly, that it found us in a great measure unprepared for it, and, like the *slow sudden death* deprecated by young, afflicted us in its visitation with the sense of omitted duties to others and of neglected communications between ourselves. What would I now give for one hour's conversation with him? From the time he determined to go *this* year, he had but eleven days to provide his passage and to make all his preparations. He got down to Deal on Sunday evening the 7th of July, embarked that night, and sailed the next morning. So that if he did not take leave of Mr. Hastings by letter, I hope he will be excused.

I have received very gratifying accounts of both my children in India. Charlotte went to Java with the Fendalls, and in a letter dated from thence

in March last speaks in raptures of the beauties of the Island, and of her own happiness. George was left at Calcutta. Mrs. Fendall speaking of him uses these words.

"Charlotte does not like going so far from her dear brother, whom we shall all leave with much regret, for he is a most excellent young man, and a great favourite with our whole family. He had a slight bilious attack on our arrival; but Dr. Russell has set him right again. He studies with his Moonshy daily, and promises to be very steady. Had we remained in Calcutta he should have continued in our family. If Fendall remains at Java when George is relieved from College, he will endeavour to get him appointed there, and glad we shall all be to have him among us again. He is a young man of high principles, strict integrity, a charming disposition, pleasing manners, and in all respects a perfect gentleman. Be under no apprehensions about his doing well."

Mrs. Thompson went from Bath to London to see Anstey before his departure. Georgiana was with her. Where they are now I know not.

I hope you are all well, for then I am sure you will all be as happy as this world admits us to be. Remember me kindly to Mr. Hastings and Sir Chs. and Lady Imhoff.

I am most faithfully yours,  
GEO. NESBITT THOMPSON.

[Addressed to:—]

MRS. HASTINGS,  
Daylsford House  
Chipping Norton.

No. 195.

GLOUCESTER,  
*Friday, 21st February 1817.*

My dear and hond. Sir,

My late visit at Daylsford, though short, was so highly satisfactory to me, that I cannot help thanking both Mr. Hastings and yourself for the pleasure of it. She was nearly recovered from the temporary pain under which she had been suffering, and from all I could learn by observation and enquiry the general state of her health was excellent. As to yourself you were really stronger both in body and mind than I had found you in either of my two preceding visits. When you get to London I hope you will strictly adhere to your determination of remaining as much at home as possible. Your animal functions evidently do not now require the impulse of exercise. The machine, undisturbed by concussion, and unclogged by anything like intemperance moves with regularity and freedom, and will, whilst thus treated, probably endure for many years. The danger of passing

from a state of bodily exertion to that of bodily repose is now over, and your mind seems to have acquired force and activity from the quiescence of its earthly companion. Your animal spirits will be fully enough employed in receiving at your own house the attentions of your numerous friends and acquaintance, none of whom I hope will be so unreasonable as to expect a return of their visits.

It occurs to me, my dear Sir, that the statement which you gave to the E. I. Company of their affairs on your return from India is, if not too long, in every other respect exactly adapted to a place in the Pamphleteer, which according to its original intention, was destined rather to revive and perpetuate such valuable tracts as were from any cause becoming scarce and obsolete than to publish new ones. The short passage concerning the Bengal salt which you read to me from that Statement gave me so favourable an impression of the whole work that I am sure, its publication would do you honour and serve the community. This statement was at least the precursor, though probably neither the suggester nor the guide, as well of those admired views of the affairs of Great Britain annually given by Mr. Pitt on the opening of his Budgett, as of the general exposes taken of the affairs of their respective countries both by the ministers of France and America. At all events I hope you will take the tract with you to London and consult Alcedo upon its insertion in the Pamphleteer. Before it is committed to the press it ought to be very carefully read, since contrary to my belief, it may possibly contain predictions not verified by events. My little boys are not yet returned to me. They are gone to pass a fortnight with my friend Col. Anstey, who has undertaken to instruct them in making Latin verse; an art in which he has great skill and much taste. Mrs. Thompson a few days ago had a very alarming attack of illness occasioned by suppressed gout. She was attended by two physicians, but either their skill, or the strength of her constitution so soon restored her, that they were both dismissed on the second or third day. Present my compliments to Miss Chapmet (*sic*), and accept for yourself, and my never failing friend Mrs. Hastings the warmest assurance of my well-merited esteem and gratitude.

GEO. NESBITT THOMPSON.

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No. 196.

GLOUCESTER,  
*Saturday, 19th July 1817.*

My dear and hond. Sir,

I am called on to renew our long suspended correspondence by an event which I think it my duty to impart both to my dear Mrs. Hastings and

yourself. Mrs. Thompson breathed her last yesterday morning about five o'clock. On Friday, three weeks I received letters from Arthur Anstey at Bath informing me that Mrs. Thompson was most dangerously ill, and had expressed a desire of seeing me. I set off immediately for that place, and got there the same evening. On my arrival I found that Mrs. Thompson's words had been erroneously stated to Arthur Anstey. She had expressed no desire of seeing me, but had merely intimated that I ought to be informed of her situation. Under these circumstances I did not think it right to intrude myself into her presence lest my appearance might disturb her last moments; but in the hope that it might possibly sooth them I desired Arthur Anstey would inform her that I was at Bath and would attend her whenever she should wish to see me. The next morning her eldest brother George arrived by the mail, and waited on her immediately. At four o'clock the same day I found that I had been twice sent for. I went, and was conducted to the door of her room by her brother George, and Arthur Anstey, who both retired. The room was spacious and she was lying on a couch at the head of it. Her two youngest sons, who had been for some time the guests of my friend Col. Anstey at Bath, were at her feet and rubbing them—her nurses were about her. As I approached she held forth her hand, which I laid hold of saying, "*I take it with all my heart, and pray God to bless you.*" I received no encouragement to say more—her look I am sorry to say was cold and forbidding, and she uttered not a word. She was dreadfully emaciated, and had a thinly scattered irruption on her skin. She conceived herself to be dying and her brother and attendants were then of the same opinion. I confess that the motion of her eye, and the tone of her voice led me to believe that she was not so near her end as they apprehended. Finding that she had not yet thought of or at least called for any spiritual consolation, I endeavoured to turn her thoughts that way, and at length after a silence of some minutes she of her own accord expressed a wish to receive the sacrament. It was immediately administered to her. Her brother George, Arthur Anstey and myself partook of it, and her two little boys were present. My beloved Georgiana had been sent to a neighbour's house. On Sunday evening her son Henry Vansittart arrived from Shotsbrook. She had now begun to mend. He went back, and promised to return at the end of the week with Lady Turner. Her amendment advanced, and her brother George left her on Wednesday. On Friday, Henry and Lady Turner arrived at Bath and staid till the following Monday, when they set off for Yorkshire. I had during the whole of my stay at Bath lived at Coll. Anstey's, from whence I had paid her my daily visits. As she got better I found she became impatient of my attentions, and I proposed to her therefore my return to Gloucester with my two little boys to which she most readily

assented. We came here last Tuesday. This morning I received a letter from Arthur Anstey dated yesterday of which the following is an extract "Mrs. Thompson was taken ill on Wednesday morning with epileptic fits "of which she had four between 3 o'clock on Wednesday A. M. and that "hour P. M., and expired in much composure this morning at 5. Miss "Hitchcock [Georgiana's governess] has been as usual considerate, attentive "and prudent. She told me she sat up with her last night and began to "read to her the Lord's prayer on her own motion and then asked her if "she should read more, when Mrs. T. desired her to do so and to read "louder, and in the course of an hour expired without a groan."

Henry Vansittart and Lady Turner promised Mrs. Thompson that they would in case of her death take charge of Georgiana: thus am I relieved of one great source of inquietude. But I have a multitude of others left, abundant enough most monstrously to perplex if not to overwhelm me. Mrs. Thompson's death has deprived me of the surest source on which I had depended for the payment of my debts. My kind friend Arthur has taken all proper steps for the present. On Wednesday or Thursday next it is my intention to return with my two boys to Bath. Georgiana is removed to Arthur Anstey's. With my best regards to Mrs. Hastings.

I am my dear Sir  
most truly yours,  
GEO. NESBITT THOMPSON.

[ Addressed to :—

THE RIGHT HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS,  
Daylsford House,  
Chipping Norton.

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No. 197.

GLOUCESTER,  
*Tuesday, 16th September 1817.*

My dear and hond. Sir,

Henry Vansittart has behaved most kindly, and in a manner worthy of himself and his father's family. He has agreed to defray the expenses of his mother's funeral, and has invited myself and my three younger children to Kirk-batham. We are now on our way thither. We left Bath last Thursday, and shall proceed on our journey tomorrow or next day. The road which he has recommended to me is through Worcester, but I purpose proceeding by another course that I may give myself the chance of passing an hour or two at Daylsford. I wish to render my long journey as interesting and profitable as I can to my children, and I should most miserably fail of

my purpose were I to lose this opportunity of introducing them to a man of whom they have heard so much, and whom it will hereafter be an envied privilege to have seen. To sleep at Daysford would as little suit our convenience as it would yours. We shall therefore only pay you a morning visit.

At Bath I happened to dine in company with Lady Charlotte Fitz Gerald, the sister of the Marquis of Hastings. I was no sooner introduced to her than she enquired with much earnestness after her *friend* and *relation* Mr. Hastings. We were intimate in a moment. The perfect coincidence of our sentiments regarding you; the fervor of our devotions at the same shrine seemed to annihilate at once all the distance which the elevation of her rank and the shortness of our acquaintance naturally placed between us. She took pleasure in uttering your praises and I had pleasure in listening to them. I saw her frequently afterwards, and with no abatement of that regard with which her partiality for yourself had at first inspired me. Her husband Mr. Fitz Gerald cordially joined in our admiration of you. I was glad to learn from them that the Marquis loves the natives of India, and thinks highly of the Company's Servants. This will help to confirm the Hindoos in their belief of the transmigration of the Soul. They will see you perpetuated in the person of your noble name sake, and rejoice to behold you again amongst them enjoying in your renewed state of being those honors which you had so well earned and which were so unjustly denied to you in your former existence. Some few amongst them will possibly be confirmed in their belief of this identity between yourself and the Marquis by a recurrence to the names of your respective secretaries. I have no objection to my share in this delusion. For I understand my namesake is an honest man, and most fervently attached to his friend and patron, I have no higher ambition.

About three months ago, I read "*The Life and Studies of Benj. West prior to his arrival in England by John Galt, Esq.*" The book was lent to me and I was obliged to read it more hastily than I wished. I wish you would read it yourself. I think it would afford you entertainment, and a useful lesson. It would show you the necessity of supplying at every moment of your leisure instructions for your own biographer whoever he may hereafter happen to be. Many of the most interesting incidents and reflections in the life of West could have been furnished only by himself. Galt in his preface says, "It was necessary that the narrative should appear in the time of West himself that the authenticity of the incidents might not rest on the authority of any biographer." Take this hint and speak for yourself. Let it be your tranquil employment, to furnish such facts and reflections as may enable the writer of your life to do you justice, and thus

to instruct mankind. It is odd enough that there is a small print in the shops of West which resembles you. But what is still more extraordinary is, that a friend of mine, who knows West well, but who has never seen you, in talking of you said that he supposed you to resemble West in your countenance without my ever having alluded to any probable likeness between you. I have not yet exactly ascertained my road, nor settled my intentions, but I think I shall breakfast either at *Stow* or *Moreton* on Thursday next, as may best suit my projected excursion to *Daylsford*. Present my best regards to my dear friend Mrs. Hastings, and to the Imhoffs if they are with you.

I am, yours most faithfully,  
GEO. NESBITT THOMPSON.

[Addressed to :—]

THE RIGHT HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS,  
Daylsford House.

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No. 198.

KIRKLEATHAM near GIBBORO-YORKSHIRE.

*Wednesday, 24th December 1817.*

My dear and hond. Sir,

At this season when "peace and good will to man" were so emphatically pronounced on earth, our minds, as if influenced by that heavenly behest, turn with more than ordinary force to that recollection of our friends, and amongst these it would be strange indeed if I could for my part forget two so very dear to me as Mrs. Hastings and yourself. My late silence I hope does not appear to either of you so strange and reprehensible as it does to myself. I am indeed myself surprized at it, and the more so, because I have wished much to hear from you, and knew at the same time that I could hardly expect that pleasure without first writing to you. I shall not attempt to account for or excuse so gross an inconsistency. Even in your own correct conduct you will find if I am not mistaken the possibility of being a remiss and negligent correspondent though a sincere and affectionate friend. It was on the 19th of September that I paid you a morning visit with my three younger children. You were then in good health and so was I. You have possessed that blessing as you have done all your faculties, with meekness. I remember I was such a vapouring fool as to boast of mine, it was perhaps because I had nothing else to be proud of. I was taken ill before night at *Stow*, where I slept, and though I procceded the next morning to *Warwick*, I could go no further, and was detained there ten days by a bilious fever. As you needed no such lesson

against presumption I hope you have not received one, but have continued to enjoy your health uninterruptedly. On the 5th of October, I and my three children arrived at this place, and with the exception of a month which we passed with my worthy friends Mr. and Mrs. Chr. Anstey at Norton, a place fourteen miles distant from hence, we have been here ever since. Mr. Vansittart and Lady Turner are very kind and attentive to us, but have not yet by a single act, or word, or even look given me any ground to conclude that they have turned their thoughts to the destitute condition of myself and my two boys, much less that they have formed any plan for our permanent relief; but they are good people and I do not therefore despair that under the blessing of God they may become the instruments of his mercy to us. Whatever good they do us must be the spontaneous suggestions of their own breasts, for Mr. Vansittart has already done so much for me, or rather for his mother, and her children, that I cannot possibly ~~ask~~ him for any thing more. They have rendered me a most acceptable service in [? the adop]tion of my daughter. There hardly lives a woman more likely to discharge as she ought a trust of this sacred nature than Lady Turner. She has herself been well-educated, possesses a fine understanding and a good heart, pleasing manners and very regular habits of business. Their establishment is large. Part of it consists of an hospital for the maintenance of 10 old men and 10 old women and for the education as well as maintenance of the like number of boys and girls; this charity, with several schools, and the regulation of her household she superintends with great diligence, but with very little apparent effort. In all the good she does or intends she has I am sure a willing coadjutor in her worthy husband. They have just built a green house and from my report of your truly wonderful Geranium she seems disposed to try her fortune with one of the same kind. Pray, tell me its sort, and the means by which it became such a prodigy of size and beauty.

Mr. Vansittart would also be glad to have a description of your apartment and your process for drying bacon.

I hope that Sir Charles and Lady Imhoff are well and that they remember me with as much kindness as I do them. I do not think, I shall leave this place before the end of January; but to say the truth, I know very little of my future destiny. It does not appear to me that man is in this respect much wiser than the beast that perishes. I do know that I am most truly yours.

GEO. NESBITT THOMPSON.

[Addressed to:—]

THE RIGHT HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS,  
Daylsford House.



No. 199

No. 8, CHESTERFIELD STREET,

*Thursday, 18th June 1818.*

My dear and hond. Sir,

I called yesterday in Portugal Street to enquire after the health of Mrs. Hastings and yourself, and had the great happiness of receiving from Sir Charles Imhoff a very gratifying report of you both. It gives me particular pleasure to find that in addition to the continued enjoyment of all the faculties of your mind, you are now by the return of a real summer restored to the delights of bodily exercise in the open air. My imagination is enraptured whilst it beholds you seated with your dear Mrs. Hastings in her beautiful flower garden, and enjoying in its maturity the paradise of your own creation: a creation which you had vigor enough of mind to commence whilst in the midst of an unparalled persecution, and which now furnishes a fit scene for the serene enjoyment of an honoured old age, blest with the recollection of past good deeds, with the united love of all good men, and with the hopes of everlasting happiness. Though these, and such as these are the sentiments with which I constantly think of you, I should not have to-day indulged in the expression of them had I not been pressed to write to you by my tailor, who is very desirous of serving you. He was Clerk and Foreman to the widow of Jones whom you employed for many years, as the surviving partner of Heron. Heron and Jones are both dead. Mrs. Jones has left off business and her clerk Evans is getting as much of it as he can. He is a fashionable tailor, and I found him in the employment of Lord Rivers, and of several of his relations.

EVANS AND CUTLER,

*Tailors, &c.*

56, South Moulton Street,

*Late Foreman and Clerk,*

TO MRS. JONES,

21, Lower Grosvenor Street.

I continue, thank God, well and happy. I have received favourable reports of my three children in India. George was married on the 3rd of January, and Anstey after having studied in the College at Calcutta and met his sister and the Fendalls on their return from Java, was going to his station at Madras. Edward and Georgiana are with Lady Turner in

Yorkshire, and Augustus who is at Rugby School is invited by Lord Rivers to pass his holidays with us (?) Present my love to Mrs. Hastings and believe me.

Yours faithfully,

GEO. NESBITT THOMPSON.

[Addressed to :—

THE RIGHT HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS,  
Daylsford House.

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COPY.

To my dear friend George Nesbitt Thompson, I give this book, desiring him to keep and perpetuate it in his family, as a pledge of my grateful affection for him; while its own pages afford the most substantial proofs of the truth and activity of his friendship for me in collecting the suffrages of the inhabitants of Bengal, and the other countries which were subject to the British dominion in that part of India, in my favor, at the time in which I was criminally prosecuted by my own country for oppressions which I was charged with having exercised over them.

Except by readers of a close and critical attention, who have accustomed themselves to draw inferences of their own from the materials which are offered to their perusal, it will not be known, or conceived, how small the influence is which an Englishman possesses over the minds of the natives of India, who is not in the service of the Company, or the Crown, nor in the line of routine which has either conducted him to present, or entitled him to future, authority over them.

In this class was Mr. Thompson; known only to have possessed the confidence of a departed Governor, unfriended even by those who had formerly shared the same protection with him and not only in no line of public employment, but excluded from it altogether by recent and most positive orders of the Court of Directors of the East India Company.

I wish to impress this review of Mr. Thompson's situation on the minds of those to whom this deposit may hereafter devolve; that when they shall read in it the testimonials which he was the instrument of procuring and of transmitting under the sanction of the Government itself to the Company in England, they may duly appreciate the difficulties which their ancestor had to encounter, and the generous ardor of that zeal which enabled him to surmount them.

May there never be wanting one of his race to emulate his virtues! and my blessing, the blessing of "a man more sinn'd against than sinning," be on him and them for ever!

WARREN HASTINGS.

[Concluded.]

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# History of the College of Fort William—IV.

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ORDERS BY THE MOST NOBLE THE GOVERNOR OF BENGAL.

*The 24th January 1854.*

**T**HE College of Fort William is abolished. The following rules are prescribed for the examination of the newly appointed Members of the Bengal Civil Service in the languages of India prevailing in the Presidency of Fort William for their guidance and control until declared qualified for the public service by knowledge of those languages, and for the discharge of other duties heretofore performed by the Secretary and Examiners of the College of Fort William :—

I. There shall be a Board of Examiners in Calcutta consisting of a President and as many members ex-officio or otherwise, as the Government may from time to time appoint with a Secretary who may be also a member of the Board.

II. The Board in addition to the duties hereinafter enjoined, will perform those now devolving on the General Committee for the examination of Assistants.

III. For the more convenient despatch of business the Board may form itself into Sub-Committees, each consisting of two or more of its members, and the President shall appoint a Secretary to each Sub-Committee from among the members of the Board and its Secretary. There shall be one Sub-Committee for the examination of Civil Servants by the qualification test and for honors, and for the performance of the other duties heretofore discharged by the Examiners of the College of Fort William and another Sub-Committee for the examination of assistants. The correspondence and miscellaneous executive business of the Board shall be conducted by the Secretary acting under the orders of the President.

IV. The President of the Board shall be the President of each Sub-Committee and the act of each Sub-Committee shall be, and be described to be, the act of the Board.

V. Every person appointed by the Court of Directors a member of the Civil Service on the Bengal Establishment shall, immediately on his arrival in Calcutta, report himself in person to the Secretary to the Board.

VI. Every such Civil Servant on his arrival in Calcutta and until he is either attached to the public service, or directed or permitted to proceed into the interior, is under the orders and authority of the Board of Examiners and bound to obey all orders, general or special, which he may receive from the President, either direct or through the Secretary to the Board. All such orders shall be regularly entered in an order-book to be kept by the Secretary.

VII. The standing orders of the College of Fort William so far as they consist with the rules now promulgated, shall continue to be binding on the young Civil Servants in Calcutta but the Board will take immediate measures to revise and consolidate these standing orders, and bring them into conformity with the new system.

VIII. The newly appointed Civil Servants of each term shall be allotted to the public service as they arrive in such proportions as are determined from time to time by the Government of India. For the present one half of the Civil Servants of each term (including the odd number when there is one) will be allotted to the Lower Provinces and the other half to the North-Western Provinces and the Punjab.

IX. Of the Civil Servants of each term those who first report themselves to the Secretary shall have the preference until the number to be allotted to one or other division of the Presidency is complete. But if two or more arrive at Calcutta in the same ship and report themselves to the Secretary within twenty four hours after arrival, the preference as between them shall be given to the senior in rank.

X. Every Civil Servant must qualify himself for the public service by knowledge of two languages according to the prescribed test. Those allotted to the Lower Provinces must qualify in Bengali and Urdu. Those allotted to the North-Western Provinces and the Punjab must qualify in Persian and Hindi.

XI. The allotment of Civil Servants to either division of the Presidency shall be reported to the Government and no change shall be made in the allotment without the special sanction of Government in each case.

XII. Every Civil Servant shall be examined, as soon after his arrival, as possible, in any language or languages he may have studied at the College of Haileybury, and a report of this initiatory examination shall be made to the Government.

XIII. There shall be a general examination at the commencement of every calendar month at which all unpassed Civil Servants resident in or near Calcutta are required to attend, and the result of every such examination shall be reported to the Government. Intermediate examinations may be held for those who are studying for honors, but not otherwise

except under peculiar circumstances and with the express sanction of the President.

XIV. Every Civil Servant is expected to pass the test of qualification in one language at or before the third general monthly examination after his initiatory examination, and in a second language within 3 months from the date of passing in the first. Failing either of these expectations, a Civil Servant will not be allowed to remain in Calcutta, but will be sent to complete his studies under some Civil Authority at a station in the interior.

XV. On good cause being shown a Civil Servant will be permitted at any time after his initiatory examination to prosecute and complete his studies under some Civil Authority at a station in the interior.

XVI. A Civil Servant who fails to pass the test in two languages within 18 months from the date of his initiatory examination (allowance being made for duly certified sickness) will on the expiration of that period be finally removed from the service.

XVII. No Civil Servant will be permitted to study for honors except in Calcutta, and unless he pass the test of qualification in two language within four months from his initiatory examination.

XVIII. No Civil Servant will be permitted to continue studying for honors of whom it is not certified by the Board in the general examination report of each month, that he has made good progress during the month, and is likely within the prescribed time to obtain either a certificate of high proficiency or a degree of honor as the case may be.

XIX. Twelve months from the initiatory examination is the extreme period allowed for obtaining honors in one language, and eighteen months from the same examination for obtaining honors in two or more languages.

XX. No Civil Servant who fails to obtain a certificate of high proficiency within eight months from his initiatory examination, shall be permitted to study for honors in a second language.

XXI. The first language in which a Civil Servant will be permitted to study for honors is the vernacular language of the greater part of that division of the Presidency to which he is allotted, that is to say, Bengalee for the Lower Provinces, and Hindi or Urdu for the N. W. P. and Punjab. After obtaining a degree of honor or a certificate of high proficiency in any one of these languages in their prescribed term, a Civil Servant may apply himself to the study of any other of the dead or living languages of India.

XXII. The following is the test of qualification in the several languages :—

(1). Construing with readiness and accuracy from the undermentioned books—

Persian	...	Anwari-Soheilee (first three chapters) and Gulistan.
Oordoo	...	Bagh-o-Bahar, Ikhwanus Safa.
Hindi	...	Prem-Sagar.
Bengalee	...	Betal-Panchabinshati and Bangalar Itihas.

(2). Translating into English with accuracy, a passage in an easy narrative style, not taken from the test books.

(3). Translating intelligibly and with accuracy of grammar, into the language in which the examination is held, an English paper of an easy narrative style.

(4). Translating in like manner a paper of English sentences.

XXIII. The following is the test of high proficiency :—

(1). Construing with readiness and accuracy from the undermentioned books—

1. In Arabic	...	{ 1. Alif Saila. 2. Ikhwanus Safa. 3. Nafhat-ul-Yaman.
2. Persian	...	{ 1. Galistan. 2. Bostan. 3. Anwari Soheilee.
3. Hindoostani or Oordoo	...	{ 1. Bag-o-Bahar. 2. Ikhwanus Safa. 3. Gooli Bakawullee. 4. Baital Pachisi.
4. Sanskrit	...	{ 1. Hitopadesha. 2. Mahabharata.
5. Hindee	...	{ 1. Rajneeti. 2. Prem Sagar. 3. Brajbilas.
6. Bengalee	...	{ 1. Bangalar Itihas. 2. Betal Panchabinshati. 3. Purush Parikya.

(2). Translating from and into English as prescribed for the test of qualification but from papers of a more difficult nature, and with greater accuracy of idiom and neatness of expression.

XXIV. The following is the test for a degree of honor :—

(1). Construing with readiness and accuracy from the undermentioned books—

1. In Arabic	...	{ 1. Nafhat-ul-Yaman. 2. Ikhwanus Safa. 3. Mugamati Hariri.
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2. Persian	...	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Akhlaqi Julali.</li> <li>2. Inshoi Abulfuzl.</li> <li>3. Sikandur Namah.</li> <li>4. Dewani Hafiz.</li> </ol>
3. Hindustani or Oordoo	...	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Bagh-o-Bahar.</li> <li>2. Ikhwanus Safa.</li> <li>3. Khirad Afroz.</li> <li>4. Kaliyati Sonda.</li> <li>5. Prem Sagur.</li> </ol>
4. Sanskrit	...	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Hitopodesha.</li> <li>2. Mahabharata.</li> <li>3. Raghu Vansa.</li> <li>4. Sakuntallah Nataka.</li> </ol>
5. Hindee	...	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Prem Sagur.</li> <li>2. Sabha Bilas.</li> <li>3. Ramayan, by Tulsi Das.</li> <li>4. Bagh-o-Bahar.</li> </ol>
6. Bengalee	...	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Purush Parikya.</li> <li>2. Betal Panchabinshati.</li> <li>3. Bangalar Itihas.</li> <li>4. Mahabharata.</li> <li>5. Probodh Chandrika.</li> </ol>

(2). Translating into English with accuracy two passages, one in prose and the other in poetry, selected from some difficult work not being a text book.

(3). Translating a difficult passage from English with accuracy, elegance and neatness of expression with perfect correctness of spelling and grammar.

(4). Conversing (in the vernacular languages) with accuracy and fluency.

The examination for a degree of honor will be of a searching nature, and the exercises both oral and written must be performed with such excellence as distinctly to establish a claim to eminent proficiency.

XXV. To every Civil Servant who gains a certificate of high proficiency there shall be awarded a donation of eight hundred rupees and a certificate under the signature of the President of the Board.

XXVI. To every Civil Servant who gains a degree of honor, there shall be awarded a donation of one thousand six hundred rupees and a diploma under the signature of the head of the Government of Bengal.

XXVII. But two pecuniary rewards for the same language will not be given, and if, after obtaining a certificate of high proficiency, a Civil Servant

becomes entitled to a degree of honor in the same language, he shall on the second occasion receive only the difference between the rewards attached to these two several distinctions.

XXVIII. To every Civil Servant who passes the test of qualification in any language with marked proficiency at or before the third General Monthly Examination after his initiatory examination, there shall be awarded a medal of merit, and to every one who passes the test in two languages within that time with similar proficiency, there shall be awarded a medal of merit and a donation of one thousand Rupees.

XXIX. Certificates of high proficiency and medals of merit shall be delivered to those entitled to them by the President at a full meeting of the Board. Degrees of honor will be conferred by the head of the Government in person.

XXX. When a Civil Servant has completed his course of study and has been attached to one or other division of the Presidency, for employment in the public service, he shall receive from the Secretary to the Board of Examiners a certificate specifying the proficiency he may have acquired, the rewards adjudged to him and the general tenor of his conduct while engaged in his studies.

XXXI. No Civil Servant unattached shall leave Calcutta or its vicinity, including a circle with a radius of five miles from Government House, without the permission of the Government. Every instance in which this rule is transgressed shall be reported to the Government by the Secretary to the Board.

XXXII. Any young Civil Servant who may be guilty of any irregular or indecorous conduct which may not appear to call for a report to Government shall be admonished by the President. But serious instances of wilful disobedience, or of disorderly and unbecoming conduct, shall be reported for the information and orders of the Government.

XXXIII. Whenever it may appear to the Secretary or to any Member of the Board of Examiners, that a young Civil Servant is likely from expensive habits, from idleness, or any improper indulgences, to incur debt or otherwise disgrace himself, and set an injurious example to others, a report shall be made to the President and the President after admonition shall, if he thinks necessary, report the matter for the information of the Government.

XXXIV. The contracting of debt by the Civil Servants of the East India Company is prohibited. Those who enter the public service under pecuniary embarrassment, implying the contraction of habits of prodigality, will be held to be disqualified for employment of trust and confidence, so long as those habits and embarrassments continue.

XXXV. The young Civil Servants will on the same conditions as heretofore be allowed the use of the Oriental books belonging to the library of



the late College of Fort William, which library will now be in charge of the Secretary to the Board of Examiners.

XXXVI. The accounts of the office of the Secretary to the Board of Examiners will be kept, audited and rendered, in the same manner as those of the late College of Fort William.

XXXVII. Civil Servants who are not qualified for the public service but are permitted or ordered to reside in the interior will be placed under the authority and orders of the Commissioner of the division, or the Judge of the district in which they severally reside and are bound to obey all orders they receive from him. They are not permitted to quit the station and its vicinity without the sanction of the Government.

XXXVIII. The examination of unpassed Civil Servants in the interior will be conducted as at present by means of written papers prepared by the Board, and forwarded under seal by the Board's Secretary to the chief Civil Authority of the Station.

XXXIX. Civil Servants will receive from the date of their arrival in the country until they pass the test of qualification in one language, a salary of Rs. 250 a month, and so long as they remain in Calcutta, an allowance of Rs. 80 for house-rent. After passing the test in one language, they will receive, until attached to the public service, a salary of Rs. 300 a month, and while they remain in Calcutta Rs. 80 as house-rent.

XL. Native teachers will be allowed to the young Civil Servants at the public expense. In Calcutta each Civil Servant will be at liberty to entertain a Moonshee or a Pundit according to the language he is studying, and every such teacher will receive from the Secretary to the Board of Examiners the authorised allowance on the production of a certificate duly attested by the student on whom he may have attended. An examination for admitting Moonshees and Pundits will be held by the Board in the months of February and August, and only such as gain testimonials of qualification to teach shall be eligible for employment by the students. A testimonial is to be given for such language in which on examination, qualification is established, the test for such examination being the same as that laid down for degree of honour including a fair knowledge of English. One Moonshee or Pundit will not be allowed to draw pay for more than 4 students in one month.

XLI. In the interior the choice of the Moonshee or Pundit will be subject to the approval of the chief Civil authority, and on the production of a like certificate, the authorised allowance will be paid by the Collector of the district and debited in his accounts to the Secretary to the Board of Examiners.

XLII. So much of the foregoing rules as relates to the time at which unpassed Civil Servants are to pass the several examinations for qualification

and honours will apply fully only to those who have not yet arrived in India. In the case of those now in India the General Monthly Examination held in February 1854 shall for the purposes of these rules be taken in respect to those who have not yet passed in one language to be their initiatory examination, and in respect of those who have passed in one language to be the date on which they passed in that language. But no such unpassed Civil Servants shall thereby acquire any advantage or be permitted either to study for honors or to remain in the service longer than he would have been permitted under the rules heretofore in force.

The Board of Examiners is hereby constituted as follows :—

*President.*

Sir Robert Barlow, Baronet.

*Members.*

A. J. M. Mills, Esq.

H. Ricketts, Esq., Member of the Board of Revenue.

*Ex-officio.*

C. B. Trevor, Esq.

A. Grote, Esq., Offg. Secretary to the Board of Revenue.

C. T. Buckland, Esq., Registrar of the Sadar Court

Lieutt. W. N. Lees, 42nd Regt. N. I.

Assistant Surgeon A. Sprenger, M. D.

Moulvee Mahomed Wujeeh.

Pundit Ishwar Chunder Surma.

The Revd. Krishna Mohun Banerjee.

*Secretary.*

Lieutt. W. M. Lees, 42nd Regiment N. I.

By order of the Most Noble the Governor of Bengal,

(Sd). C. BRADON,

*Secretary to the Government of Bengal.*

For all practical purposes it was merely a change of name as all the functions hitherto performed by the College of Fort William devolved upon the newly constituted Board of Examiners including a Monthly Report upon the general conduct and ability of the junior unpassed Civil Servants. The only difference appears to have been that no residential quarters were provided for young civilians who were allowed to reside in Calcutta or its vicinity including a circle with a radius of five miles from Government House beyond which they could not live without the permission of the Government. That this was the meaning of the order is shewn by Government letter No. 385 dated 28th February 1834. They remained under the disciplinary

control of the President of the Board, G. G. O. No. 197 of 27th February 1854 provided for the conduct of the examinations of Military Officers as heretofore. Sir Robert Barlow, Baronet, was appointed President with Mr. A. J. M. Mills and Mr. Ricketts as members. The *ex-officio* members were eight in number : Mr. C. B. Trevor, Mr. A. Grote, Mr. C. T. Buckland, Lieutenant W. N. Lees, Assistant Surgeon A. Sprenger, M. D., Maulvi Mahomed Wajih, Pundit Iswar Chunder Surma and the Reverend Krishna Mohun Banerjea. Secretary, Lieutenant W. N. Lees.

That the Board of Examiners conducted their business in the "Building formerly styled the College of Fort William" at this time appears from a letter from the Secretary, summoning Dr. A. Sprenger to attend there to perform the duties of Examiner (28th January, 1854). The former office establishment was re-entertained as also the menial establishment. The native establishment of Shiristadars, a Pundit and Writing Masters were, however, to be discharged. The "Proceedings of the College" were not to be completed and the Secretary was directed to forward a Tabular Statement shewing the financial result of the measures now sanctioned (letter No. 377 dated 25th February, 1854). This statement was submitted on the 10th. March and shewed a saving of Rs. 134-8 a month after including Rs. 110 a month for Munshi allowance which the Secretary asked for as being indispensably necessary. (Sanctioned by Government of India, Financial Department, 15th June 1854).

It was officially determined in Government letter No. 896 of the 29th April 1854 that "Persian is not a vernacular language and that officers of the Civil Service are, therefore, not to be colloquially examined in it."

On the 24th April the Secretary addressed Government with reference to the design of the gold medals enquiring whether it was the wish of Government that any alteration should be made in the present medal bearing the words "College of Fort William" and recommending that in the event of Government deciding to have an entirely new design it should be executed in England where the 50 medals last forwarded were struck (in 1849) their dies being now in the possession of the Secretary. It is thus clear that the dies for these medals (still in use) were cut in England in 1849. Government decided that the obverse of the medal should remain unchanged and that Col. Forbes, the Mint Master, should be asked what it would cost to erase the words "Collège of Fort William" (G. L. No. 937 29th April, 1854). The alteration was sanctioned on the 9th June, 1854 and was reported as completed on 18th August 1854.

In May 1854 Dr. Lees reported that the buildings occupied by the Board of Examiners stood in need of repairs and that the lower floor required asphaltting being quite uninhabitable on account of damp. Orders were

accordingly issued to the Chief Engineer, Lower Provinces, to instruct the Civil Architect to cause the Proprietor to execute the necessary repairs.

On the 22nd May 1854 Pundit Jagannath Sukul was appointed Hindi Pandit to the Board of Examiners.

On the 3rd May 1854 instead of the Governor of Bengal, the title Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal is used for the first time.

On the 2nd June 1854 the Secretary referred to Government the question whether a Military Officer who had passed the Military Prize examination in a language might be permitted to present himself for examination by the High Proficiency test. The Most Noble the Governor-General in Council in reply directed that such officers should be furnished with the certificate of High Proficiency without being subjected to a second examination in as much as the Prize examination was the same though more difficult than that for the certificate of High Proficiency.

Prior to the abolition of the College of Fort William, diplomas of Honour were signed by the Governor of Bengal in his double capacity of Governor of Bengal and Visitor of the College. Clause xxix of the Notification of 24th January 1854 provided that such diplomas should be signed only by the Head of the Government of Bengal. The Secretary in April 1855 submitted for opinion as to whether the diplomas ought not also to bear the signature of the President of the Board. His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal decided in favour of the President's signature being added (G. L. No. 509, dated 23rd April 1855).

In July 1855 the Junior Civil Servants who had heretofore been under the control of the Board of Examiners were brought under the direct orders and control of the Government of India by Resolution in the Home Department of the 27th July 1855 forwarded to the Government of Bengal with letter No. 942 of 27th July 1855. By para. 2 of this Resolution the Civil Servants and Chaplains on the Bengal Establishment were as services placed under the direct orders and control of the Governor-General of India in Council. Their arrival on first appointment was to be reported to and notified by the Home Department. Para. 5 of the same Resolution placed the Board of Examiners also under the direct authority and orders of the Governor-General in Council and the Secretary to the Board and its stipendiary members were thereafter to be appointed by the Governor-General in Council.

In July the Director of Public Instruction forwarded an application from the Professor of Vernacular Literature of the Presidency College enclosing a voluminous list of Bengali books which he asked should be transferred from the Library of the late College of Fort William to the Library of the Presidency College.

As in some cases the demands were for as many as fifty copies of one work and in others even in excess of the actual numbers of volumes in the Library of the Board of Examiners, the Secretary, Lieutenant W. N. Lees, objected to this wholesale and unreasonable demand and in para : 7 of his letter No. 306 of 14th July 1855 recommended that a certain number of books in accordance with a revised list which he submitted for transmission to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor should be transferred to the Presidency College, should His Honour feel disposed to make a grant to that extent. The value of the books was Rs. 1,450. This recommendation was accepted and necessary sanction given in Government Letter No. 325, dated 13th August 1855.

On the 24th November 1855, the Secretary reported to the Government of India in the Home Department, that the buildings occupied by the Board of Examiners had not been repaired for six years. Orders were issued by the Government of Bengal in 1854 directing the repairs to be undertaken but the proprietors had not done anything and some of the rooms were consequently quite uninhabitable. The Secretary in pointing the uncertainty of the Board's tenure, being liable to be called upon to pay a considerably enhanced rent or to turn out at a month's notice, stated that a favourable opportunity presented itself "for securing a fine house with a very splendid hall, and otherwise sufficiently large to afford ample accommodation for the College Library, the Board's Office and their Secretary at a monthly rent of Rs. 300." By this arrangement a permanent saving of 1200, rupees annually would be effected. This house was No. 1, Little Russell Street which was in the occupation of Dr. Clapperton and was in every way eligible.

The Civil Architect was directed (Letter No. 1484, Government of India, Home Department, dated 27th November 1855) to procure the house for the use of the Board on a lease for three years at a monthly rental not exceeding Rs. 300. The Board moved its office to No. 1, Little Russell Street from 1st January 1856. A bill for Rs. 436-5 was also passed for purchase of fixtures in the house. In December 1855 the Master of the Mint, Colonel Smith, reported that a new matrix die for stamping the gold medals had better be procured from England as the old die was sunken and cracked. This step was accordingly sanctioned (Letter Book 3 page 34).

In January 1856 Sir Robert Barlow availed himself of three months' leave of absence, the senior member of the Board was authorised to act during Sir R. Barlow's absence. (H. D. letter No. 66, dated 14th January 1856).

On the 18th January the Secretary addressed the Chief Magistrate Calcutta Police, on the subject of the rate of pay demanded by coolies and hackney drivers for moving the Board's office from Tank Square. Coolies,

he says, demanded 1 anna and 6 pies a trip, or four annas a day (10 A. M. to 5 P. M.) The hackney drivers also demanded higher wages and under compulsion, Lieutenant Lees says, he had to pay Rs. 66-13-9, "double what would have been an equitable remuneration for the people employed." The rate of pay compares very favourably with that charged by coolies now-a-days (1902) when they will not work for less than 8 annas a day).

Another very important function was performed by the Secretary to the Board of Examiners as he was appointed a Member of the Board of Examiners for the examination of candidates for commissions in Her Majesty's Army. General order by the Honourable the President of the Council of India in Council dated Fort William, 19th April 1851 published for general information Letter No. 25 Military Department, dated 5th March 1851, from the Honourable the Court of Directors to the Governor of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal and its accompanying Memorandum, relating to the examination of candidates for direct appointments before they are passed as cadets. In the case of candidates resident abroad when nominated they were required to appear before a Board to be convened by the Local Government. This Board was to be composed of Civil or Military officers stationed at the Presidency "who are qualified to examine in the several branches of study specified in the Memorandum." Candidates were to be passed by the Board in branches of study in which they were found to be qualified and remanded for such a time as might be necessary to complete their attainments in subjects in which they were at first found to be deficient. These rules were to come into force from the 1st June 1851.

The Memorandum specifies the subjects of examination which were briefly :—

- (1). Writing English correctly from dictation.
- (2). A competent knowledge of arithmetic and of the first three books of Euclid.
- (3). Translation into English from Caesar's *Commentaries* or from the first four books of Virgil's *Aeneid* and he will further be expected to parse and shew his knowledge of grammar and syntax.

Translation from French into English from one of the following works :—

Telemachus, Voltaire's Charles XII, and Peter the Great.

In lieu of French, Hindustani might optionally be taken in which case translation into English was required from either the *Bagh-o-Bahar* or the *Tota Kahanee*.

- (4). History : Keightley's *Histories of Greece and Rome*, Gleig's *History of England* and the *History of British India* contained in Vols. 1 and 2 of the Edinburgh Cabinet Library.

(5). Geography: A competent knowledge of the modern divisions of the world, the principal nations in Europe and Asia, the names of the capital of each nation in Europe and of the chief cities of Hindustan and the names and situations of the principal rivers and mountains in the world.

(6). "In fortification, he should have read some elementary work on the subject (Straith's Introductory Essay to the study of Fortification or Macaulay's Field Fortification) and have received some instruction in Drawing."

"The examination of the candidates will take place before a Board of Examiners to be convened for that purpose at the Military Seminary at Addiscombe near Croydon. If the candidate has been confirmed as a member of the Church of England he will be required to make a declaration to that effect." Failing this last a certificate of proper religious instruction would suffice and the candidates were also required to produce testimonials of good moral conduct having reference to the two years immediately preceding, and signed by "the Principal or Superior authority of the College or Public Institution in which he may have been educated or under the hand of the private instructor to whose care he may have been confided."

In accordance with these regulations, General Order No. 500 of the 26th September 1851 appointed the following Board of Examiners for direct commissions:—

The Secretary and Examiner, College of Fort William ...	<i>President.</i>
The Deputy Surveyor-General of India ...	} <i>Members.</i>
The Reverend J. A. Blomefield, M. A. ...	
The Garrison Engineer, Fort William ...	

The first candidate to be examined under these regulations (G. G. O. No. 244 of April 19th 1851,) was Mr. E. J. L. Twynam and the examination was to be held in the Examination Hall of the College of Fort William on Friday the 7th November 1851 at 11 o'clock in the forenoon.

The Garrison Engineer was, however, on the sick list and his substitute Captain Frazer was obliged to be absent on the 7th, at Chinsurah so that the examination had to be postponed to the 11th November.

Mr. Twynam was reported qualified and the report is signed by Major G. T. Marshall, *Secretary to the College of Fort William.*

Captain H. Fraser, *Captain*

Captain H. E. L. Thuillier, *Deputy Surveyor-General of India.*

Asst. Chaplain J. Blomefield, *Bishop's Chaplain.*

The next two candidates were examined in January 1852. Their names were Henry Ross Stewart and George Harry Hawes. Both were declared qualified. The name of E. L. Ommanney replaces that of H. Fraser. The other members were as given above.

In 1855 certain modifications were introduced and a general order by the Honourable the President of the Council of India in Council was issued. (No. 682, dated Fort William, 26th June 1855). The examination remained unaltered. Boards were to assemble at Calcutta, Agra and Lahore to examine candidates for commissions in the Honourable Company's service, in Her Majesty's service and in the Royal service according to the tests laid down in the Horse Guard's Circular in force at the time. These rules were also made applicable to Fort St. George and Bombay.

From this period also the Senior Officer at the Board was to preside. In January 1857, the Principal of the Civil Engineering College was substituted for the Garrison Engineer as a Member of the Board at the Presidency. In April 1859 the name of George Chesney (afterwards Sir George Chesney) Captain Engineers, appears as President of the Examining Board. The last examination under these rules appears to have been held in 1862. A list of officers examined for direct commissions in this way will be found at the end.

Dr. Sprenger reported his return from sick leave on the 25th February 1864, and resumed his duties as Examiner. On the 22nd April, Lieutenant Lees made over charge of the office of Secretary to the Board of Examiners to Mr. A. W. Russell, Offg. Registrar of the Sudder Court and proceeded on leave to Europe. He left Calcutta for England on the 23rd April on the "Hindustan." (Letter No. 91, dated 5th March 1864). This, however, was only a temporary arrangement and on the 22nd May, Lieutenant E. St. George relieved Mr. Russell of the duties of Offg. Secretary. In May 1856 the question of the salary of the Secretary to the Board of Examiners was raised and the Commissioner for the revision of the civil salaries and establishments throughout India (Mr. H. Ricketts) called for a statement embodying a report on the designation and present salary, alterations during the preceding 25 years in the salary, the duties of the office, any special circumstances which were considered or ought to be considered in fixing the salary. In the course of this correspondence it appeared that Lieutenant Lees in addition to his salary as Secretary to the Board of Examiners, drew Rs. 350 a month as Persian Translator to the Government, Rs. 100 a month as Examiner of candidates for the situation of Law Officers, Rs. 200 a month as Member of the Board of Examiners and Rs. 300 a month as Principal of the Calcutta Madrasah, so that his total emoluments amounted to Rs. 1750 a month.

In August 1856 the services of Dr. Sprenger were replaced at the disposal of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief (*vide* Home Department



Letter No. 1245 of 15th August 1856). The appointments held by Dr. Sprenger under the Civil Authorities were—

Principal of the Calcutta Madrasa.

Ex-officio Visitor and Director of the Hooghly Madrasa.

Examiner of candidates for post of Mahomedan Law Officer.

Persian Translator to Government.

When Dr. Sprenger was removed from these appointments Lieutenant Lees was appointed to succeed him. (Letter No. 186, dated 20th April 1858 from W. Nassau Lees. Letter Book No. 4. B. E.). On the 28th August Lieutenant St. George was appointed to officiate also as a Stipendiary Member of the Board of Examiners.

In January 1857, Sir T. E. Colebrooke, Bart. and Mr. S. M. Boulderson, late of the Bengal Civil Service, applied for duplicates of the Gold Medals and Honorary Certificates obtained by them at the College of Fort William. The former represented that his Haileybury Medals for Classics, Mathematics, Laws and Political Economy and his College of Fort William Medal had been stolen from his house 18, Park Lane, London in June 1856. Mr. Boulderson's medals had been stolen in India. The Court of Directors sanctioned the issue of duplicates at the expense of the recipients (Pub. Dept., letter No. 19 of 1857).

In August 1857, the Secretary to the Board of Examiners' serenity was disturbed by the receipt of a visit from the Assistant Garrison Engineer to the premises occupied by the library and office of the Board "with a view to at once erecting out-offices for the use of a hundred European soldiers who he stated were to be quartered in the building." Captain St. George accordingly wrote to Government for instructions on the subject (No. 294, dated 11th August 1857). In reply Government informed the Secretary that the whole of the building occupied by the Board's Office would if necessary be taken up for the accommodation of troops. The Secretary was directed to make the best arrangements he could in communication with the Garrison Engineer for the temporary accommodation of the Board's Office (No. 1608, dated 17th August 1857). In accordance with this the Board's Office at 1, Little Russell Street with the exception of two rooms occupied by the Library was taken possession of by the Garrison Engineer on the 19th August. The Board's Office was removed to No. 4, Commercial Buildings where "a small suite of apartments has been hired for its accommodation at a monthly rent of Company's rupees 150." The Library Room of the Civil Engineering College, Tank Square, was placed at the disposal of the Board for the general monthly examinations. These arrangements were sanctioned by Government (Letter No. 2160 of 21st October 1857).

Lieutenant W. N. Lees returned from leave on the 5th December 1857 and resumed charge of his duties as Secretary and Stipendiary Member of the Board of Examiners on 7th December.

In July 1857 an extension of one month for each language studied was granted to such young civil servants as had joined the Volunteer Corps ("Volunteer Guards") on the condition that such students as availed themselves of this concession should continue to do duty with the Corps as long as they remained in Calcutta.

The Secretaryship to the Board was considered as a Staff Appointment (Letter No. 1364, Government of India, dated 21st August 1857).

Upon Colonel Marshall's retirement it was thrown open to Military Officers qualified to hold it and desiring Staff Employment.

It appears that No. 1, Little Russell Street was in use as a Hospital or Sanatorium as we find a letter from the Secretary to the Board of Examiners addressed to Dr. Linton, C. B., Inspector-General of Her Majesty's Hospitals, dated 6th March 1858 enquiring for what further period the house would be required by the Medical Department. Being under the necessity of shortly vacating their present quarters the Board desired before taking another house to know for how long No. 1, Little Russell Street would be required. A further letter from the Secretary addressed to the Home Department (No. 137, dated 26th March 1858) shews that No. 1, Little Russell Street was in use as a hospital for sick and wounded officers. The Secretary in asking to have the house again placed at the disposal of the Board points out that little inconvenience could result as at that time there were only three officers in the house all of whom were convalescent. The Inspector-General of Her Majesty's Hospitals was "unable to define the period for which hospital accommodation would be required for sick and wounded officers."

From 1st May 1858, No. 4, Kyd Street was rented at Rs. 300 a month for the accommodation of the Office of the Board of Examiners, as a temporary arrangement.

On the 30th June, the Civil Architect wrote to the Secretary with a view to the immediate removal of the Library of the Board from No. 1, Little Russell Street. Captain Lees in referring this letter to Government pointed out the value of the library which comprised some ten thousand volumes and the risk of damage to the books if they were moved at this season of the year. The shelves had also been cut to fit the present house to which it was hoped the Board would ultimately return. The Board recommended that the Library be not removed (Letter No. 291, dated 30th June 1858). Upon this Government on the 5th July 1858 intimated to the Military Department that the Library could not be removed. However, a further reference was made to Government based upon Dr. Linton's report

which shewed that the closure of the rooms occupied by the Library shut out the south wing entirely from the room over the portico. For sanitary reasons and for the comfort and welfare of the patients it was considered desirable that those rooms should be opened out. It was further considered likely that the number of sick officers would increase in which case the accommodation afforded by the two rooms would be fully occupied.

The President in Council met the objections of the Board of Examiners by suggesting that arsenal carts (covered) might be used for moving the Library books and that to save expense the shelves might be left in position and shelves purchased for temporary use. In accordance with this the Government in the Home Department in their No. 1827, dated 6th August 1858, ordered the Secretary to the Board of Examiners to take immediate measures for removing the books.

In answer to this letter the Board in their letter No. 358 of the 11th August 1858, represented that they were in difficulties as regards the holding of the examinations of the 33 Junior Civil Servants then in Calcutta. "It is," they write, "only through the kindness of Principal of the Civil Engineering College that the Board are able to hold their examinations at all, as the Town Hall is full of soldiers. The Engineering College Hall cannot always be obtained." The Board had given up their house on the understanding that suitable accommodation for the sick should be made elsewhere as soon as possible. Houses of larger dimensions providing superior accommodation were vacant within a few hundred yards of No. 1, Little Russell Street. Could not the sick officers find accommodation in one of those? There was evidently some degree of friction between Dr. Linton as representing the Medical Department and Captain Lees as Secretary to the Board of Examiners. Dr. Linton considering that his occupation was by right, whereas Captain Lees held it was only by privilege. That there was some acrimony imported into the discussion is evident from the correspondence. However, the truth of the maxim *Beati possidentes* was once more exemplified, and the Board had to vacate their house permanently and remove the books. In letter No. 1870, dated 16th August 1858, the Government of India authorised the Board to engage a suitable house for office, library and Examination Hall at a rent not exceeding 325 rupees a month making their own arrangement for subletting the premises they temporarily occupied. Accordingly on the 31st August, the Secretary formally handed over the premises No. 1, Little Russell Street permanently to the Military Department from the 1st September, on or after which date Captain Lees also asked that covered arsenal carts might be placed at his disposal for the removal of the Library books. The books were eventually moved on 6th September 1858, and the Board's Office and Library located in No. 8, Elysium Row.

On the 28th August 1858, Captain Lees was ordered to proceed first to Allahabad to receive the instructions of the Governor-General with reference to the purchase of certain rare and valuable oriental mss. 2,000 in number which were advertised by the Prize Agents for sale on the 1st September.

The Governor-General being anxious to purchase for the Government of India such of the manuscripts in question as might prove to be of real value, had caused a request to be conveyed to the Prize Agents for the postponement of the sale until the 1st of October, in order that the collection might be examined and a selection made of those which it might be desirable to secure. It was therefore the wish of the Governor-General that Captain Lees should at once proceed to Delhi for the purpose of examining the collection and purchasing all those manuscripts which he might consider to be rare and really valuable. Captain Lees replied that in the short period of time available no examination worthy of the name could be made of so large a number of works and recommended that Government should buy the whole of the manuscripts and send them to Calcutta. This suggestion was accepted and a telegram to that effect was despatched to Captain Lees. The Commissioner of Delhi was instructed to purchase all manuscripts that might be put up for sale by the Prize Agents (Letter No. 383, dated 8th September 1858).

On the 30th November 1858, Mr. A. Sconce was appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor to be President of the Board of Examiners. The appointment of the Honorary Members of the Board including the President was left entirely to the Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, but the Secretary and stipendiary members were to be appointed by the Government of India. (Government letter No. 2741, dated 15th December 1858.)

On May 1859, the formal reports of the Initiatory and Monthly Examinations hitherto submitted by the Board of Examiners under Secs. XII and XIII of the "Rules for the examination and control of the newly appointed Members of the Bengal Civil Service" were dispensed with by order of the Governor-General in Council. The report upon the passing the test of qualification and that of having exceeded the time allowed for passing that test was still continued. (Government Letter No. 990, dated 11th May 1859.)

In 1859, Captain Lees officiated for six months as Director of Public Instruction in Bengal in addition to his own duties (See his letter No. 488, dated 14th August 1862 to the Home Department). A long correspondence ensued upon the question of his allowance during the period.

On the 22nd July 1859 Captain Lees wrote to Government stating that 41 cases of books purchased at Delhi at the sale of Prize property had been opened and found to contain 4,700 manuscripts. Many of these were

fragmentary, some without beginning and some without end, so that the work of arranging and cataloguing them must necessarily occupy a considerable time.

Captain Lees proposed with the sanction of Government to direct the Arabic Librarian of the Mahomedan College to attend daily for three or four hours. It was hoped that in this way with the assistance of two students the work of classifying and cataloguing might be completed in six months.

On the 9th June 1860, the Board of Examiners submitted for the orders of Government an application for examination in the oriental languages from acting Sergeant, Blochman (*sic*) of Her Majesty's 38th Regiment soliciting sanction to comply with Sergeant Blochman's request as a special case. The sanction of Government was conveyed in Military Department letter No. 371, dated 10th July 1860.

In June 1860, the question of the language tests for military officers in the three Presidencies came under review at the instance of the Government of Madras who made certain suggestions for the alteration of the rules. In forwarding to the Board of Examiners their letter (No. 1595 dated 27th April 1860), Major-General, Birch remarks that if the principles relied on in the minutes accompanying the letter are applicable at Madras they will be applicable at the other Presidencies also.

From the President's minutes it appears that there were in Madras five separate examinations in the native languages:—1st to qualify for the command of a company; 2nd for an Adjutancy; 3rd for the Staff; 4th for a Regimental Interpretership; and 5th an intermediate examination to establish that "creditable progress" in consideration of which the reward of 180 rupees entitled Munshi allowance was paid. The standard of the first examination was held to be too low, while the highest of the Interpretership examination offered so little inducement to officers in the way of reward that it was neglected by them for the Adjutant's and Staff examinations. The military examinations also were held to be unequal and unsatisfactory by reason of the mode in which they were conducted. There were, it was considered, no solid grounds for more than two standards of examination. The first of these was to include a sound grammatical knowledge of the language: acquaintance with a moderately sized text-book: ability to translate from English with tolerable ease: and ability to talk on any given subject with ease and attention to idiom. One year was to be allowed for this test, failure to pass within that period entailing dismissal from the service. A preliminary examination was to be held at the end of six months to test progress, and "creditable progress" was to be rewarded by the grant of the Munshi allowance. It was to be open to young officers to pass at any time within the year and their doing so was to be noted to their credit.

The second standard was to be at least equal to the Interpreter's, Examination and should secure that power of readily speaking, reading and writing the language which would enable an officer satisfactorily to discharge any duties entrusted to him. This examination was not to be compulsory, but should be a necessary precedent qualification for Civil and Military Staff situations of every kind.

The first examination was to be in Hindustani as being the universal military language; the second or Staff examination in Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam or Canarese.

A scale of pecuniary rewards was recommended for both tests. A permanent board with a paid Secretary was to be substituted for the existing fluctuating Presidency Committee.

Finally, officers were recommended to commence Hindustani in England.

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief practically concurred in the President's minute, but was in favour of extending the period for the first to eighteen months and of having both tests in Hindustani. The other members the Honourable W. A. Morehead and the Honourable E. Maltby concurred in the amendments proposed by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief. In submitting these minutes to the Oriental Sub-Committee, Captain Lees added the rules in force in Bengal. By these rules there were two standards of examination, the Military Hindustani examination (P. H.) and the Military Interpreters' examination (P). The former include (1) reading and translating correctly the Bagh-o-Bahar in the Persian character and the Baital Pachisi in the Nagri character; (2) a translation, intelligible and accurately written, of an English passage in an easy narrative style, this translation to be written in a legible hand in both Persian and Devanagri characters; (3) Colloquial. The Military Interpreters' (P) examination was much more extensive. It included :—

- I. A well-grounded knowledge of the general principles of grammar.
- II. The ability to read and write with facility the modified Persian character of the Urdu and the Devanagri of the Khari Boli.
- III. A colloquial knowledge of the Urdu and Hindi sufficient to enable him to explain with facility and at the moment, any orders in those dialects or to transpose reports, letters, etc., from them into English.

The tests were :—

- 1st. Well-selected questions, not of the niceties, but of the leading general principles of grammar.
- 2nd. *viva voce* conversation with the Examiners.
- 3rd. Written translations into Hindustani in both characters, of selected orders or rules and regulations.

4th. Reading and translating the *Bagh-o-Bahar* in Hindustani, the *Prem Sagar* in Khari Boli, and the *Gulistan* or *Anwar-i-Subaili* in Persian.

It appears from Mr. K. M. Banerjea's minute that ability to read and construe readily and on the spot manuscripts such as are usually written by natives in the course of business formed part of the Interpreters' Examination.

In addition to these obligatory examinations there were Military Prize Examinations in any two of the following languages :

(A) Arabic, Persian, Urdu ; (B) Sanscrit, Hindi and Bengali provided that one of each class A and B must be chosen.

This examination was open to officers of all three Presidencies.

In commenting upon the recommendations of the Madras Government the President of the Board of Examiners, (Mr. A. Sconce) was not prepared to recommend the deportation of young officers for non-proficiency in native languages. The Revd. Mr. K. M. Banerjea thought the (P. H.) test too low, and the (P) test too high for the advantages they respectively offered. He was also opposed to the penalty of dismissal. He also wished Persian to be omitted from the Interpreters' test and colloquial Hindi substituted for it. He advocated the provision by the Secretary of State of good grammatical instruction of cadets in Hindustani in England.

Captain Lees wrote a very long minute, agreeing with the President that in view of the changes about to take place in the organization of the army, the present was not a suitable time to discuss this question. In para. 10 he advocated the institution of a single examination in the native languages to qualify for every department of the public service. If it were considered (para. 14) necessary to maintain the Interpreters' examination it would be then the highest standard for candidates for the situation of Regimental Interpreter. He advocated that the post of Regimental Interpreter should be better paid as an inducement to officers to qualify by this test. He considered the (P. H) test in Bengal less severe than the Madras Interpreters' test, while the Interpreters' or P examination was more severe than any of the Madras examinations.

He also advocated the removal of the restrictions which governed the Military Prize Examinations, pointing out the unfairness of compelling officers to master two languages of totally distinct families. He therefore recommended the reduction of the prize and allowing it for one language only. He further advocated the extension to Military officers of the rewards for Honour examinations and the readjustment of the scale of rewards in consonance with the degree of difficulty of the different languages and combated the opinion that for a primary test a smattering of colloquial was sufficient. Captain Lees also was strongly opposed to imposing the

penalty of dismissal from the service upon officers who failed to pass within a given time. He would prefer to impose penalties rather in the nature of disabilities and desired that examination in Hindustani should be made compulsory on candidates for direct appointment.

Sir Hugh Rose concurred with the Board of Examiners in considering the time infelicitous for the discussion and it was accordingly postponed for the present.

In August 1860, the Board of Examiners addressed Government upon the subject of the Degree of Honour Tests recommending certain changes in text-books and with regard to the Interpreters' test they recommended substitution of the *Iklwanu-s-Safa* for the *Bagh-o-Bahar* which latter was the text-book for the "P. H. or lower standard." Candidates were to be examined in the old text-books up to 1st July 1861. (No. 277, dated 31st August 1860). The revised list of text books was published in December 1860. The draft order appears in letter (No. 302 S B E., 10th October 1860).

In December 1860, the Government of India approved of Captain Lees's proposal to present to Dr. Wright, Professor of Arabic, at the University of Dublin, a copy of *Abdur Rahim's Arabic Dictionary* and copies of all the printed books on Arabic Grammar and Syntax of which there were duplicates in the Fort William College Library and which could conveniently be spared (No. 2356, dated 6th December 1860). A list of the books actually presented to Dr. Wright is found at page 215 B. E. (Letter Book 6).

At the end of 1860 (26th December), the Civil Finance Commission of which R. Temple was President and H. Sandeman and R. H. Hollingberry were members, addressed the Government of India in the Home Department recommending the abolition of the "Board of Examiners in the College of Fort William" costing as it did Rs. 25,000 a year. They suggested that for examining for honorary degrees at the Presidency and for deciding upon the examination papers transmitted by the Mofussil Committees upon Military Officers, a standing committee should be appointed composed of the Principals of the Sanskrit College and the Madrasa and such other gentlemen as it might be found advisable to associate with them. The estimated saving was Rs. 24,700 annually.

This letter was referred by Government to the Board of Examiners on the 5th January 1861 (No. 44) and a detailed statement was called for from the Board shewing the duties of each person and the contingent and other charges and shewing the entire cost of the establishment. The Board were also requested to give their opinion upon the recommendation of the Civil Finance Commission. The reply of the Board is found in their letter No. 100, dated 13th March 1861. It took the ground that in view of the paramount importance of an accurate knowledge of the native languages to both Civil



and Military Officers the best means of securing this would prove to be the most economical. They further pointed out that if the suggestion made by the Finance Commission was adopted, it would be necessary to make both the Principalships substantive posts, involving an increase of expenditure in the Education Department of Rs. 21,600 per annum, whereas the whole cost of the Board of Examiners was only Rs. 23,030 a year. But a Secretary would still be an indispensable necessity, as some officer would be required to be "*en rapport* with Government and His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief." The Board, therefore, were of opinion that the proposed arrangement while being less efficient, would be quite as costly as the existing system. Minutes by the President of the Board and by the Members of the Oriental Sub-Committee were annexed to this letter. These minutes need not be quoted; suffice it to say that they disposed of the contentions upon which the Civil Finance Commissioners based their recommendations. It was an extremely ill-judged and untenable suggestion and would not bear the light of day. Captain Lees's comments upon it in his minute are forcible and amusingly cogent. He refers to the abolition of Hollinberry College as having removed the only means of ensuring a knowledge of oriental languages by the Junior Civil Servants. The functions of the Oriental Section of the Board of Examiners are not then wholly unimportant. Amateur or unpaid services are the most expensive of all. He points out the enormous expenditure involved by the payment of the salaries of Civil Servants who by reason of their want of familiarity with the vernacular languages, are incompetent to discharge the duties required of them. This he estimates at no less than Rs. 6,00,000 a year. In former days when the Civil Service was mainly recruited from the sons of men who had themselves given their best years to the service of the State in India, it might fairly be held that the Junior Civil Servants had by virtue of their fathers' services some sort of claim to justify this enormous expenditure upon their advancement, but now, since the Civil Service had been thrown open to public competition, candidates could have no right or title to a maintenance out of the revenue of India until such time as their qualifications enable them to remunerate Government by their services for the salaries paid them. The minute concludes with a quotation from his "Guide to the Examinations of the College of Fort William" in which Captain Lees impresses upon Junior Civil Servants the necessity for their possessing a thorough and familiar acquaintance with the dialect of the district in which they may be employed. This is followed by a detailed statement shewing the annual cost to Government amounting to Rs. 23,030-3-5 with a note explaining the various charges and shewing that the establishment is not excessive.

On the 16th March 1861, Captain E. St. George assumed charge from Captain W. N. Lees of the Offices of Member and Secretary to the Board of Examiners and Persian, Translator to the Government of India, Captain Lees going to Europe on sick leave.

On the 24th October 1861, Baboo Ramapershaud Roy, Offg. Superintendent and Remembrancer of Legal Affairs was appointed to be a Member of the Board of Examiners (Government of Bengal, No. 439, dated 24th October 1861). On the 14th December 1861, Captain Lees resumed charge from Captain St. George.

In 1862 a Special Committee was convened by His Excellency the Governor-General in Council to draw up rules for the examination in the Native Languages of Military Officers in the three Presidencies.

The following was the constitution of this Committee :—

The Honourable H. B. Harington, C. S. ... *President.*

Colonel H. M. Durand, C. S.

L. B. Bowring, Esq., C. S., Private Secretary to the Governor-General.

Major C. Herbert.

Major R. C. Wroughton.

Captain W. N. Lees, L. L. D.

To this list were subsequently added—

Colonel H. W. Norman, C. S., Secretary, Military Department.

E. Clive Bayley, Esq., C. S., Secretary, Home Department.

In February 1863, the Board of Examiners addressed Government (letter No. 87, dated 26th February 1863) upon certain points regarding the arrangements under which Junior Civil Servants were sent out from England under the competition-system. It was pointed that with regard to the oriental studies of these young men, rules were passed and changes made without any reference from England to India and *vice versa*, to the great detriment both of the students and of the Government of India. The Board shewed that an annual outlay of nearly three lacs of rupees was incurred by Government in the maintenance of Junior Civil Servants while they were studying the oriental languages. For this enormous outlay there was no return, as the Civil Servants were not competent to perform their duties till they passed in the languages. In other words "making a low estimate of the annual cost to the State on account of unemployed Junior Civil Servants represents a sum of money little short of half a million sterling." On these grounds the Board of Examiners recommended the adoption of measures to ensure the acquisition by these Juniors of the greatest amount of knowledge possible, knowledge of the most serviceable kind, and that with the least possible expenditure of time.

Under the existing rules officers left England imperfectly instructed to whom to report themselves, often not doing so for several days after arrival. The Board recommended that they should be directed to report themselves immediately on arrival to the Secretary to the Board of Examiners and should draw pay from the date of so reporting themselves.

The arrangements in England for the study of oriental languages also came under criticism. The vernacular languages appointed to be studied in England by young civilians destined for Bengal were Bengali and Hindustani. But it was pointed out that Bengal was divided into the Upper and Lower Provinces, and that while Bengali and Hindustani were the languages appointed in India for the Lower Provinces, the Upper Provinces Languages were Hindustani and Persian. Consequently all those students who on arrival were assigned to the Upper Provinces laboured under a great disadvantage in never having studied either of these two languages. To remedy this defect the Board were of opinion that the distinction of the Divisions of Bengal should be recognised in England and young men should be posted to one or other of them on passing their first examination with choice of division in order of merit, in place of the existing mechanical posting made in the Office of the Secretary to Government, Home Department, a practice which gave rise to much dissatisfaction. The Board further advocated the raising of the standard of the Oriental Language Examination in England to that which then qualified for the public service in India, thinking that although it might never be found possible to dispense altogether with examinations in India, much might be done to reduce the time of study or to raise the standard in India as Government might think proper. The demands of the public service require that Government should always have at its disposal some good linguists and a limited number of scholars. The Board also requested that in future the nominal rolls of the Junior Civil Servants might shew the place of instruction of each student, his College distinctions, position in the competitive examination in England, his marks, and any extra subjects taken up by him, so that the Board might know those students whose career they would desire to watch with special interest; and be in a position to advise Government as to the character and attainments of young men studying under their orders. The Board were frequently called upon for this information which under existing conditions they were totally unable to furnish.

The Government of India in their reply (No. 4395, dated 14th July 1863) accepted all the recommendations made by the Board and stated that they would be submitted for the order of the Secretary of State. (See India Office Public, No. 69, dated London, 7th November 1863 in which these various changes are sanctioned.)

In the meantime Captain Lees was indirect communication with Mr. I. G. Maitland representing the Civil Service Commissions and in his letter he refers to the reconstitution of the Board of Examiners of which the following was the *personnel* (Letter No. 197, dated 1st May 1863).

*President :*

The Honourable Sir Charles Trevelyan K. C. D. (*sic*).

*Members :*

The Bishop of Calcutta.	I. P. Grant, Esq.
The Honourable H. S. Maine.	W. L. Heeley, Esq.
W. I. Allen, Esq.	Captain W. N. Lees.
C. P. Hobhouse, Esq.	Revd. K. M. Banerjea.
E. T. Trevor, Esq.	Maulvi Abdul Luteef.
S. Wauchope, C. B.	Mahomed Wujeen.
H. L. Dampier, Esq.	

Two questions were under special consideration at this time, *via.*, "the continuance of the study of Persian by Civil Servants posted to the N.-W. Division of this Presidency, and the employment of young Civil Servants in the discharge of certain duties or as assistants in offices or in attendance in Law Lectures or in public service in the Oriental Languages." As to the first of these the Board recommended that Persian should be omitted from the Pass Examination, but should continue to form part of the Honour Examination (Letter No. 205, dated 26th May 1863). In September 1863 a reward of 500 rupees was sanctioned by the Government of India for passing a specified examination in Pushtu (Notification No. 2084, dated 22nd September 1863, by the Lieutenant-Governor, Punjab Provinces).

At this time Government having called upon the Board of Examiners for information as to the Cassyah language the study of which Government desired to encourage, the Board (No. 494, dated 18th November 1863) reported that a dictionary and grammar of the language were in course of preparation under the superintendence of the Revd. Thomas Jones of the Welsh Presbyterian Mission at Cherra Poonjee and suggested that Government should bear all the cost of printing and publishing, leaving the profits to be divided between the mission and the author, always provided that the books were completed within a fixed period and were favourably reported on. This was accepted (Letter No. 743, Mily. Dept., dated 29th December 1863).

By a Resolution of the Bombay Government No 65, dated 23rd January 1864, Royal Navy Officers were admitted to examination in the Staff Test in Hindustani or a colloquial examination in Arabic or Persian and upon passing, were entitled to the Munshi and Interpreter's allowance of fifty rupees per mensem while on the East India Station. These examinations might be held at either Presidency.

On the 6th May 1864, Captain Lees addressed Government on the subject of the oriental manuscripts rescued from destruction at the taking of Delhi, 1857. These comprised 19,31 Arabic, 2251 Persian and 167 Urdu manuscripts. Three separate catalogues were prepared one for each language. The manuscripts, says Captain Lees, "were all received in a very bad state, in some cases amounting to dilapidation. This, however, from the treatment, I am given to understand, they received at Delhi, was to be expected. All the elegantly written manuscripts had been carried off as *loot*, and many were subsequently sold, I believe, to dealers and private persons, while of most of those which were illuminated, the illuminated leaves were torn out, and with them often many other leaves besides. Every one in short had his pick of these books before they came into the possession of Government. But the books on the more abstruse or severer subjects are not usually illustrated or illuminated, and hence they escaped the hands of the pillagers who were too ignorant to be aware of their value. Of these there are still a large number of good manuscripts, some ancient and rare, which when carefully arranged and repaired will form a very excellent Oriental Library." Captain Lees had hoped to make a valuable report on these books, but was obliged to abandon the idea for want of leisure to devote to the task. He accordingly had to content himself with weeding out those of little or no value, with others of which there were many duplicates. These it was proposed to sell and with the proceeds of their sale form a fund to provide for the safe custody, binding and repair of the remainder to be reserved by Government. Captain Lees proposed to retain 1,114 Arabic, 1,208 Persian and 91 Urdu manuscripts. All the manuscripts were to be removed to two good upper rooms at the Madrassa adjoining the College Library under the care of the College Librarian. This arrangement, however, was only to be temporary and Captain Lees's intention was that as soon as funds were available more efficient measures should be taken for the care of the manuscripts by the appointment of a custodian and the provision of proper book cases, etc. This he proposed should be carried out in connection with the new Indian Museum to which Institution Captain Lees proposed the manuscripts should be presented to form the basis of its Oriental Library. (Approved by Government Letter No. 1574, dated 14th December 1864). Captain Lees expresses the disappointment he experienced on an examination of the manuscripts. It was not so rich in rare and valuable manuscripts as he would have expected. (Letter No. 153, dated 6th May 1864). On the 13th June 1864, Captain Lees addressed Government on the subject of patronising Professor Blochman's edition of Ram Dhun Sen's Persian Dictionary. Government,

however, declined. On the 21st November 1864, Captain Lees applied for three months' privilege leave from the 1st December, stating that in a period of nineteen years and six months he had "never had but 30 days' privilege leave." This leave was granted and Captain E. St. George, Assistant Secretary to the Government of India in the Home Department, was appointed to act for Captain Lees. (Government Letter No. 6086, dated Fort William, 3rd December 1864.

Mr. Robert Fulton Rampini \* (present President of Board of Examiners) was appointed to the Bengal Civil Service, 29th September 1864 and underwent his first examination by the Board of Examiners on the 1st December 1864. He arrived in Calcutta, 29th November 1864 by the steam-ship *Mooltan*.

On the 8th March 1865, Captain W. N. Lees resumed charge on return from leave. From the 1st April 1865 all practising barristers who might desire to become candidates for judicial or other appointments under Government were permitted to appear for examination by the "second standard" as laid down in rules for the examination of Military Officers published in G. G. O., dated 9th September 1864. These rules were the outcome of the report of the Commission appointed in 1862. This Commission had whilst holding its sittings prepared proof-sheets of selections in both Urdu and Hindi. The new rules superseded all former rules. The "first standard" was designed to take the place of the examination hitherto called the "colloquial" examination, and qualified an officer to hold the situation of Aide-de-Camp or Station Staff or to hold a probationary appointment as doing duty officer with a Native Regiment. The "second standard" was to be the qualifying examination for the staff corps. These have with certain modifications persisted to the present date (1902) as the Lower and Higher Standards.

In 1865 arrangements were entered into for the transfer of the collections of the Asiatic Society of Bengal to the Imperial Museum which was then about to be established by legislative enactment. Captain Lees was appointed to be a Member of the Provisional Committee of twelve, nominated partly by Government and partly by the Society.

(At this time Sir W. Mansfield was Commander-in-Chief and Colonel Haythorne, Adjutant-General).

The first result of the new regulations was to produce a great fall in the numbers of candidates for both the 1st and 2nd standards, so much so that Sir William Mansfield addressed the Government of India on subject, fearing that the tests were too severe. However, the Board of Examiners upon a reference being made to them, removed all apprehension

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\* Now Sir Robert Fulton. (1910).

on this score, and was inclined to attribute the falling-off in number rather to a desire on the part of officers to wait and gauge the quality of the examination before entering.

In February 1866, Captain Lees writes as Principal of the Madrassa to the Executive Engineer reporting very serious damage to many of the Delhi Manuscripts the property of Government which were stored in the south-west corner-room of the main building of the Madrassa. By the disobedience of the contractor the roof of the room in which these books were stored was dug up and heavy rain coming on poured into the room and ruined many of the manuscripts. In reporting this fact to Government (S. B. E. No. 38, dated 8th February 1866), Captain Lees was able to state that the damage had not been so great as was at first feared. Out of 254 volumes wetted by the rain only 11 Arabic and 21 Persian were seriously damaged and of these only two were of special value.

Captain Lees now proposed that a separate and efficient establishment should be temporarily sanctioned to re-classify them (as in the confusion caused by the rainfall they had been missed again) to prepare the lists for sale and to take care of the manuscripts which it was decided to retain. He proposed a curator at Rs. 50, an assistant at Rs. 30 and 3 dufries, 1 at Rs. 8 and 2 at Rs. 7 a month. In all Rs. 102. A contingent allowance of Rs. 1,000 was also asked for to meet the current monthly expenses for repairs. These charges were sanctioned for a period of six months at the expiration of which the Secretary was to report progress. (Government Letter No. 1888, dated 27th February 1866).

On the 15th February 1866, the Secretary, Board of Examiners, in compliance with orders received from the Government of India, forwarded a Draft General Order fixing the several tests for examination in the various languages.

The Government of India having in their letter No. 1899, dated 27th, February 1866 taken Captain Lees to task for want of "attention and interest" in the matter of the care of the Delhi manuscripts, Captain Lees wrote in reply (No. 71, dated 10th March 1866) exonerating himself from blame which he does manfully and convincingly. If the one letter is read Captain Lees's answer must be read with it.

In August 1866, the Punjab Government asked that Major Lees might be permitted to visit the Punjab to assist in the arrangements for founding the new Oriental College at Lahore. The Government of India sanctioned this and Major St. George was directed to take charge of the current duties of the Office of Secretary, Board of Examiners, during Major Lees's absence. Major Lees handed over charge on the 6th September 1866, and resumed it on 3rd December. Before handing over charge Major Lees submitted a

letter to Government (No. 262, dated 6th September 1866) reporting that the whole of the Delhi manuscripts had been reclassified, rearranged and recatalogued. Three hundred copies of the catalogue of the manuscripts recommended for sale had been printed and it was recommended that these should be widely circulated, and a day fixed for the sale some time in January 1867. Major Lees asked that the Assistant and two Duffries might still be retained. This was sanctioned (Government Letter No. 5215, dated 8th October 1866, and Government Letter No. 1837, dated 31st December 1866).

In 1867, Major Lees was also Assistant Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department.

On the 9th November 1866, Lieutenant H. Jarrett, 4th Bengal Cavalry, was summoned to attend an examination on Saturday the 1st December and was reported to have attained High Proficiency in Persian on the latter date. He also obtained a Degree of Honour in Persian, 12th November 1867.

1,100 manuscripts were sold by public auction on the 25th February 1867 by Messrs. Mackenzie Lyall & Co. at the request of Major Lees, but by the orders of Government the sale was postponed to the 13th March. In the result they only realised Rs. 1,076-14-3 from which Rs. 207-13-3 was deducted for costs of sale, the balance was to be devoted to the repair and case of the manuscripts retained.

In March 1867, a certain number of text-books were sold to the Government of Madras, value Rs. 827-7-4, and part of the proceeds were with the sanction of Government applied to the purchase of new editions of certain other text-books.

In February 1868, Baron Dowleins, (*sic*) special agent for the Government of India at the Paris Exhibition of 1867, addressed the Government of India forwarding a communication from Mons. Schefer, Premier Secretair Interprite de l'Empereur, announcing the despatch of two complete sets of the oriental works published by the School of Oriental Languages of Paris one of which is for presentation to the College of Fort William and expressing a desire on the part of the school to possess copies of the works printed in the various oriental languages at Calcutta and Bombay. (Letter S. B. E. No. 48, dated 6th February 1868). In acknowledging this gift Captain Lees proposes to forward for the approval of Government a list of the works which have been published from time to time by the Professors of the College of Fort William and the Board of Examiners for presentation to the School of Oriental Languages. An interchange of publications was suggested by Mons. Schefer and Captain Lees suggested that this might be extended to the publications of the Oriental Fund of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. In their reply (No. 899 of the 22nd February 1868) Government give a list of



the books sent by Baron Dowleams and state that the Asiatic Society of Bengal will be addressed regarding Major Lees's suggestion.

In February 1868, Major Lees addresses the Master of the Mint asking him to assist him "in devising a seal for the use of the office of the Board of Examiners, the one the Board had having been stolen a short time ago when the office was broken into for the purpose of robbing (*sic*) the examination papers." In a subsequent letter No. 56, dated 24th February, Major Lees replies to an enquiry from the Mint Master that "the seal is for wax impressions and the size might be about the size of a rupee or the usual official size. The words around the margin should be "Board of Examiners, Government of India," but as for the device I am puzzled. A human head "Sir John Lawrence" for instance, or the human form or the Government Coat of Arms might do, but the device is of very little importance provided it is difficult of imitation." [During the writer's period of occupancy of the Secretaryship to the Board of Examiners there was a seal in use in the office, of brass engraved with the head of Her late Majesty Queen Victoria, G. R.]

In March 1868, the following gentlemen were appointed members of the Board of Examiners, Mr. A. R. Thompson, Major I. M. Graham, Deputy Commissioner of Police, and Mr. E. T. Trevor was appointed President. In April 1868, the Board crossed swords with the Special Committee on the question of text-books for the examination of Military Officers, and in somewhat scathing terms demolished the position taken up by the Committee which was indeed untenable. It is curious to observe that the *Bagh-o-Bahar* was the book round which the controversy raged. The Committee denounced this work as "puerile," "immoral," "pedantic in style," "uninstructive" and useless, a goodly flow of abusive adjectives, while the Board on the other-hand maintained that it was "pure and elegant even classical Urdu and that no native of India could write or compose a book which for elegance of style and composition would equal it." It was "known and appreciated by Mahomedans from Peshawar to Cape Comorin and was the only book except a portion of the Koran which is taught to women." Major Lees's words are worth recording. "It is a translation into Urdu by a very elegant scholar of an original Persian tale which was prepared by the celebrated poet Ameer Khusrau of Delhi for the purpose of being read by him to the saintly and equally celebrated Nizamu-d-Din Auliya, to amuse and divert his mind during a very severe illness. On the recovery of the saint he prayed to God that he would keep in good health all who should read this tale. The narrative, therefore, has a historical origin dating back upwards of five centuries, the tombs of the poet and saint are visited by thousands of Mahomedans and Hindus annually, and the Board unhesitatingly state that the efforts of all the Englishmen in India combined could not produce a romance one page

of which would be invested with the same importance or be held in the same estimation in the eyes of the natives of India, as the *Bagh-o-Bahar*." Enthusiastic and well-deserved support does the Board give to this evergreen work of incomparable excellence in its own particular line. In spite of numerous assaults and temporary eclipse it has recently shone forth in all its old brightness, and it will be a wonderful day in the history of vernacular literature when a better text-book of Urdu is produced. The Board had no desire to disparage the labours of the Committee and would be disposed to recommend for adoption some of their suggestions, were it not that their tendency was to increase the difficulty of the examinations to an undesirable extent.

They strenuously opposed the introduction of the Roman character in place of the native characters as unscientific and unscholarly. They consigned them to the limbo of ladies' and soldiers' Hindustani. Their remarks upon Honour Examinations were equally destructive of the crude criticism of a Committee which apparently saw nothing in a language beyond its use for daily intercourse.

On the 4th April 1868, Major Lees handed over charge of the office to Major E. St. George. He, however, appears to have resumed charge as we find another letter, dated 16th April 1868, reporting that Major Lees had that day again made over charge to Major St. George. Major Lees was proceeding on furlough to England.

On the 14th August 1868, Mr. C. H. Campbell, Board of Revenue, was appointed President of the Board of Examiners.

By a Resolution of the Governor-General in Council of the 24th September 1868, the rules for the examination of Military Officers in oriental languages were extended to Chaplains.

By Resolution No. 1525A. of 1868 in the General Department of N.-W. P. all European Officers of the Educational Department were required to pass the High Proficiency in Vernacular Languages before the Board of Examiners, Calcutta. Two years were to be allowed for passing and no promotion was to be given until candidates had passed.

In December 1868, the question of the grant of Gold Medals for "extraordinary merit" came up for decision. Hitherto, they had been in several instances granted for High Proficiency Examination in cases where the candidates had passed an exceptionally good examination. Government (No. 100, dated 2nd December 1868), were of opinion that the Gold Medal should be only be awarded to those who pass the highest test in any language and obtain a Degree of Honour with extraordinary credit. Further information was, however, called for from the Board of Examiners before finally deciding the question.

On the 9th December 1868, Lieutenant E. H. A. Collen, (afterwards Sir Edwin Collen), Royal Artillery passed by the Higher Standard in Hindustani.

On the 5th February 1869, Dr. H. W. Bellew, Civil Surgeon, attained High Proficiency in Persian.

In March 1869, the Office of the Board of Examiners became 17, Elysium Row, the house number having been changed from 8 to 17. On the 7th June 1869, Captain L. I. H. Grey obtained the Degree of Honour in Persian. On the 10th July, the Revd. Mr. K. M. Banerjea applied to be exempted from the operation of the "Superannuation Rules" and was reappointed for a further term of five years with the sanction of the Secretary of State.

By the orders of Government privates and non-commissioned officers were admitted to language examinations on the same terms as officers.

A suggestion was made early in 1870 to amalgamate the two offices of Secretary to the Board of Examiners and Assistant Secretary to the Government of India in the Legislative Department. On a reference to the Board of Examiners they opposed the suggestion on the ground that the Secretary to the Board of Examiners had not sufficient leisure and would tend to the neglect of the duties of one or other of the two offices (Letter No. 67, dated 14th March 1870).

On the 18th April 1870, Major E. St. George handed over charge of the offices of Member and Secretary to the Board of Examiners to Captain H. S. Jarrett.

On the 23rd May 1870, Captain Jarrett applied to Government for sanction to the sale as waste paper of a large accumulation of worm eaten records (College orders and examination papers) dating back to 1820. Sanction was also sought for the sale of all spare copies of old text-books reserving six of each book for the Library.

In June 1870, the examinations were held at 46, Chowringhee Road while 17, Elysium Row was undergoing repairs.

In December 1870, the Financial Department took objection to the provision of Rs. 4,800 as house rent for "so small an office as the Board of Examiners" and asked if it could not be largely reduced. Upon this the Home Department made a reference to the Secretary, requesting him to report as to the manner in which the building was occupied by the Board, and also whether some more economical arrangement could not be made for its accommodation (No. 269, dated 14th January 1871). The Secretary's letter in reply shewed the necessity for the provision of a house such as the existing office, containing a large examination hall and accommodation for the Library and pointed out the impossibility of obtaining a suitable house at a lower or even at the same rent. The lease had still 2½ years to run.

On the 22nd January 1871, a committee specially appointed to examine Captain Jarrett, Offg. Secretary to the Board of Examiners, for a Degree of Honour in Urdu, reported him as qualified for that Degree. The Committee was composed of "the Honourable Justices Kemp and Glover and Dr. K. M. Banerjea" (No. 1262, Home Department, dated 7th March 1871).

On the 29th March, Captain Jarrett was confirmed in his appointment on a salary of Rs. 1,450 plus Rs. 500 as Offg. Secretary in the Legislative Department.

On May 1871, it was arranged that the dies from which the Honorary Medals were struck should be kept in the Mint where they could be kept in better order.

In April 1872, Government sanctioned Lieutenant-Colonel W. N. Lees's application for the grant to him of gold medals for having taken Degrees of Honour in Persian, Urdu and Arabic. (No. 1653, dated 6th April 1872).

In December 1872, Captain Jarrett applied for three months' privilege leave, and this leave was granted him from the 18th January 1873, Lieutenant-Colonel E. St. George, Assistant Secretary, Legislative Department, officiating.

Value of gold medals—Rs. 98-5-4. (Letter No. 329, dated 26th December 1872).

A statement on pages 46-53 shews the books purchased for the Library between the years 1858 and 1872 (Letter Book 12 S. B. E.)

Captain Jarrett resumed charge on the 21st April 1873. In May 1873, Mr. R. F. Rampini of the Bengal Civil Service was awarded a diploma for a Degree of Honour in Bengalee.

In November 1874, the Board of Examiners asked Government to retain the valuable aid of the Revd. Dr. K. M. Banerjea who had exceeded the service limit of age. Government in reply sanctioned the retention of Dr. Banerjea's services till further orders (Home Department letter No. 40, dated 15th January 1875).

In December 1874, Mr. Burnell of the Madras Civil Service and Dr. Oppert, Professor of Sanskrit, Madras Presidency College, addressed Government upon the subject of certain alterations which they suggested should be made in the examination for High Proficiency and Honours in Sanskrit. The proposals involved a considerable increase in the difficulty of both tests and upon a reference to the Board of Examiners they reported against the adoption of the scheme on grounds which are fully set forth in their letter No. 11 of 25th January 1875, and suggested certain alterations in the examinations both for Sanskrit and Arabic. Their suggestions so far as related to Sanskrit were adopted by Government. (See Home Department Notification, dated Simla, the 30th July 1875).

By a Resolution in the Financial Department, dated Simla, the 17th August 1875, the two offices of Secretary to the Board of Examiners and Assistant Secretary to the Government of India in the Legislative Department were combined on a consolidated pay of Rs. 2,000 a month. Captain Jarrett was accordingly confirmed in the latter appointment.

In September 1875, Captain Jarrett applied for furlough on private affairs of which he availed himself on the 7th October 1875 handing over charge of his duties to Lieutenant A. C. Talbot and left Bombay for England by the steamer of October 11th.

In June 1876, Delhi mss. were still in the Madrasa building and the Secretary, Board of Examiners, wrote to the Imperial Museum Trustees to ask whether, now that the Museum building was completed, the Delhi manuscripts could not be made over to the Trustees.

In June 1876, Her Majesty's Secretary of State addressed the Government of India as to the expediency of further encouraging Civil and Military Officers to study the Persian and Arabic Languages, and it was proposed that a Committee should assemble in Calcutta in the cold weather of 1876-1877. As a preliminary measure opinions were called for from various authorities as to the proposed changes, one of which was to establish for civilians' examinations in Arabic and Persian corresponding with the Higher Standard examination prescribed for Military Officers. The opinion of the Board of Examiners is contained in letter No. 235, dated 23rd August 1876. They advocated improvements in the construction of the High Proficiency and Honour Examinations, with the object of making them more practical.

In August 1876, Lieutenant A. C. Talbot, Offg. Secretary to the Board, applied to be examined for a Degree of Honour in Arabic and solicited sanction to being examined by a committee composed of Mr. J. O'Kinealy C.S., and Mr. H. Blochmann, M.A., Principal, Calcutta Madrasa. This was sanctioned in Government, Home Department, Letter No. 97, dated 21st September 1876. Half-yearly examinations were instituted in certain up-country stations by the Higher Standard in Persian.

The letter to Government reporting that Lieutenant A. C. Talbot had obtained a Degree of Honour in Arabic on the 30th October 1876 is signed by V. H. Schalch as President of the Board of Examiners.

In August 1876, the Trustees of the Indian Museum declined to take charge of the Delhi manuscripts (see their letter No. 526, dated 21st August 1876). Government accordingly decided to send the manuscripts to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India in view to their being deposited in the library attached to the India Office. Instructions were issued to the Secretary to the Board of Examiners to have the manuscripts carefully

packed for this purpose. (Home Department, Letter No. 1729, dated Simla, the 30th October 1876).

In November 1876, Lieutenant A. C. Talbot applied for a year's furlough to England. His application contains a statement of his services up to date.

Major Jarrett resumed charge on the 16th January 1877.

The Secretary to the Board forwarded to the Government of India catalogues of the Delhi manuscripts in 8 volumes, 3 for the Arabic, 3 for Persian and 2 for Urdu and miscellaneous manuscripts prepared by Mr. Blochmann. (Letter S. B. E. No. 73, dated 22nd February 1877).

Gold medals were engraved for Ensign W. N. Lees for his Degrees of Honour in Persian (1851) and Urdu (1852) on the 13th June 1877.

In February 1877, Mr. J. O'Kinealy, C.S., was appointed to be President of a Committee for revising the tests under which Civil and Military Officers were examined in oriental languages. The Committee was composed as follows:—C. J. Lyall, C.S., J. Beames, Esq., C.S., Major Jarrett, Dr. Dymock, Mr. Griffith, Captain Deane and Mr. C. Macaulay. (Home Department, No. 29, dated 28th February 1877).

On the 7th June 1877, Mr. O'Kinealy was appointed President of the Board of Examiners.

The Committee of Revision submitted their report on the 15th February 1878, to the Government of India, Home Department. Their report suggested several alterations and improvements in the examinations for the High Proficiency and Honour Tests. The appendix to the report deals with the editions of the various text-books considered most suitable.

In February 1878, the Board of Examiners recommended to Government that as a mark of the eminent services rendered to the Board, and to the public by Maulvi Kabiruddin Ahmad, his salary should be raised to Rs. 200 a month. The Committee of Revision had made a similar recommendation in para. 68 of the Report above mentioned. Sanction was given to this increase on the understanding that the pay of Rs. 200 was to be personal to Maulvi Kabiruddin Ahmad only, the pay of the office *quoad* his successor remaining unaltered. (Home Department, No. 323, dated 11th May 1878). In June 1878, sanction was given by Government to the distribution of spare copies of oriental books in the Library of the College of Fort William, to the several Government Schools and Colleges. A list of these works exists at pages 152 and 153 of Letter Book No. 14 S. B. E. The Government letter conveying sanction is Home Department No. 36 of the 26th June 1878.

In 1878, Mr. Blochmann died.

In July 1878, a pamphlet of "Notes on the grammar of the Semali language" by Captain J. M. Hunter, Bombay Staff Corps, was forwarded (in ms. ?) by the Government of India for the opinion of the Board of

Examiners as to its merits. Major Jarrett's report was on the whole favourable.

3rd December 1878, Surgeon Ranking, 6 B. C. Persian Cl. VIII.

9th April 1879, " " Persian H. P.

In 1879 upon the application of Commandant Sergeant G. Grevelink a question arose as to the eligibility of non-commissioned officers and soldiers for examination by the Degree of Honour Standard. The Board of Examiners were of opinion that the Honour Standard was reserved for commissioned officers, but the Government of India ruled that warrant and non-commissioned officers are to be considered eligible for examination in the Degrees of Honour in the same manner as they are for the High Proficiency tests with the usual rewards.

In October 1880, Mr. Saleem Faraz was appointed Arabic Instructor to the Board of Examiners on a salary of Rs. 175 a month, and Mulla Shaikh Mahmud Gilani was appointed Persian Instructor on the same salary. Colloquial from this time was to form part of the High Proficiency and Honour test in both languages.

In December 1880, the Honourable H. J. Reynolds was appointed President of the Board of Examiners during the absence on leave of Mr. J. O'Kinealy. In March 1881, Major Jarrett applied for three months' privilege leave from the 5th July. In April of this year steps were taken by the Board of Examiners to introduce a system of licensing Munshis after examination and regulation of their fees for tuition. This was in accordance with the recommendation of the Committee for Revision of Tests in Oriental Languages. In order to carry this into effect the Munshis were approached on the subject. Adalat Khan, however, who was the Principal Munshi of Calcutta and attracted all the pupils (whether by reason of his superior qualities as a teacher which were undoubted, or because of his having a brother Asalat Khan in the employ of the Board as Assistant Librarian), refused to submit to any regulation of his tariff of charges. The usual charge was Rs. 30 a month for two hours a day, in addition to which the rapacity of the Munshi led him as a rule to exact from his pupil a promise of the whole of the reward Rs. 180 on passing. It is easy to see why Adalat Khan refused the intervention of the Board as a regulating agent. All the eight other Munshis who replied to the Board's Circular followed Adalat Khan's lead. In the end the attempts of the Board to carry out the Committee's recommendation proved ineffectual and the Munshis remained masters of the situation. (See Government of India, Letter No. 51, dated 27th May 1882). On the 2nd July 1881, Major Jarrett handed over charge of his office to Major A. C. Toker.

Surgeon G. S. A. Ranking, M.D., 6th B. C., passed High Proficiency in Urdu on the 3rd, 4th, 5th and 6th October 1881.

Major Jarrett resumed charge of his office on the 7th October 1881. In March 1882, Major Jarrett proceeded on furlough and Major L. J. H. Grey, C.S.I., was appointed to officiate during his absence.

On the 3rd, 4th, 5th, and 6th April 1882, Major A. C. Toker obtained a Degree of Honour in Persian.

In 1882, the Examination for Secretariat Clerkships was instituted and placed under the Superintendence of the Board of Examiners.

On the 29th April 1882, Maulvi Kabiruddin Ahmad was appointed to be an Honorary Member of the Board of Examiners. (Government of Bengal, Notification No. 2111A.)

On the 11th December 1882, Major Grey handed over the officiating duties to the Reverend K. M. Banerjea who held them till the 23rd December, when he was relieved by Major Toker. Major Grey's services were replaced at the disposal of the Punjab Government, Home Department, No. 126, dated 19th December 1882. In May 1882, Salim Faraz was suffering from his eyesight and was allowed to proceed on leave to Bagdad where he was under treatment by Dr. Bourman upon whose certificate he was granted an extension of two months' leave in September 1882.

In March 1883, Major Toker obtained sanction to his request to be examined for a Degree of Honour in Urdu by a Board composed of Mr. Justice O'Kinealy, Dr. K. M. Banerjea, Syed Amir Hossein and Syed Amir Ali. The examination was held on the 19th April, and three following days. Major Toker passed it successfully. On the 13th October 1883, Lieutenant-Colonel Jarrett received charge of his office from Lieut.-Col. Toker.

Maulvi Kabiruddin Ahmad, Khan Bahadur, Head Maulvi and Honorary Member of the Board of Examiners had now attained the age of 55 years, and would consequently have been called upon to retire in the ordinary course. Upon the strong recommendation of the Board of Examiners his services were retained until the age of 60 or until he should be reported as no longer physically or mentally fit to attend to his duties. (Home Department Letter No. 7, dated 2nd February 1884).

In July 1884, Captain T. E. Spencer, 17th Native Infantry, obtained a Degree of Honour in Urdu and was presented with the usual medal and diploma.

In 1884, examinations for admission to the Opium Department were instituted, and also for the Subordinate Executive Service under the Bengal Government, and were held under the Superintendence of the Board of Examiners (Home Department Letter No. 1658, dated 7th October 1884).

In October 1884, Colonel Jarrett was appointed to hold charge of the office of Governor-General's Agent with the King of Oudh for which he received a charge allowance of Rs. 150 a month.



In February 1885, the Revd. K. M. Banerjea took three months' leave and in his absence Pandit Mahesh Chandra Nayaratna, C.I.E., took charge of his duties in Sanskrit and Bengalee and the Revd. Roger Dutt in Hindi. Dr. Banerjea returned to duty on the 1st May, but submitted on the same day his resignation on the ground of ill-health. In reporting this occurrence the Board recommended to the notice of Government, Dr. Banerjea's "long and honourable service of 32 years during which his erudition, good judgment, tact and valuable counsel have been of material advantage to the public service." (See Home Department Letter No. 44, dated 15th May 1885).

In February 1885, the Secretary of State referred to the Government of India, a letter from Messrs. W. H. Allen & Co. relative to a proposal to publish a large revised edition of Wollaston's English Persian Dictionary. Dr. Rost supported the proposal and Messrs. Allen now asked for a subsidy of £250 annually for eight years from Indian revenues towards the cost of publication. The Board of Examiners were consulted and reported in favour of the proposal.

Dr. K. M. Banerjea's death took place on the 11th May 1885, (S. B. E. No. 268, dated 15th July 1885).

In March 1885, the Government of India proposed to the Government of Bengal a change in the procedure under which the honorary appointments of President and Members of the Board of Examiners were made. Having regard to the fact that the Board was entirely under the orders of the Government of India it seemed advisable that these honorary appointments should be made by the Government of India. Mr. J. O'Kinealy and Mr. A. Gough were also reappointed members of the Board, (Home Department, No. 14, dated 7th March 1885), with the concurrence of the Government of Bengal. (Home Department Notification No. 34, dated 10th April 1885).

Upon Dr. Banerjea's resignation the duties performed by him were divided between two examiners, Mr. Archibald Gough, Educational Department, Professor of the Presidency College, taking Hindi and Pandit Mahesh Chandra Nayaratna, C.I.E., Principal of the Sanskrit College, taking Sanskrit and Bengali. The salary of Rs. 200 a month formerly drawn by Dr. Banerjea was divided equally between these two examiners. In June 1885, a colloquial test was introduced into the Higher Standard Examination in Arabic on the recommendation of the Board, as also into the High Proficiency and Honours Examination. A year's notice of this change was given. Changes were also introduced to remedy the defective examinations in the Madras Presidency where an utterly ungrammatical dialect was accepted as being Urdu, the Calcutta edition of the Bagh-o-Bahar having actually been altered to come into line with this *patois*. In July 1886, Lieutenant-Colonel Jarrett proceeded on privilege leave and was relieved by Captain J. Hayes

Sadler. He rejoined on the 14th October at the expiration of the Doorga Poojah holidays.

In 1886, the Commander-in-Chief addressed the Government of India, No. 2533, dated 27th August 1886, on the subject of the Lower and Higher Standard Examinations in Hindustani. His Excellency (Sir Fred. Roberts) considered that they were too hard, and that the learning of the Hindi, (Nagari) character was unnecessary. He accordingly recommended the abolition of Hindi as a test in both examinations and further advocated the use of the Roman character instead of the Persian for Urdu. At the same time he states that "the requirements of Military duty demand that officers should talk the language fluently and be able to converse with the natives of the country. It is also very desirable that the European Officers should be able to communicate with the native officers, Havildars, etc., by means of written orders or notes. This object could without difficulty be attained if British officers were accustomed to write Urdu in the Roman character, the native ranks being taught to do the same." The absurdity of this suggestion was pointed out by the Secretary to the Board of Examiners (Lieut.-Colonel Jarrett) in his reply, (No. 390, dated 1st November 1886). After disposing of all the arguments advanced by the Commander-in-Chief Colonel Jarrett pointed out that Hindi is spoken by 24,000 men of the Native Army, is the basis of Urdu which is the *lingua franca* of India and that a knowledge of Hindi is indispensable to officers serving with Native Troops. Finally as he says "If the officers have to instruct the whole of their men in the Roman character they would, I think, soon gladly revert to the labour of learning the Persian instead." It was in truth an iconoclastic and improvident suggestion which can never have emanated from a man of such intimate knowledge of India, and the requirements of Indian armies as was Sir Frederick Roberts.

Unfortunately there are to be found in India those who consider that languages and linguistic abilities are of very secondary importance. The men who made and saved India were not men who despised the vernaculars, and any tendency to belittle the languages and reduce examination requirements in them to the vanishing point is much to be regretted.

We shall have occasion later to record the abolition of the Hindi test which came into force in 1896 in spite of opposition by those best qualified to judge of the effects of such a measure of retrograde policy.

In December 1886, Gurkhali was added to the languages for the study of which encouragement was held out by Government in the shape of pecuniary reward. At the close of this year Surgeon Ranking passed the Degree of Honour test in Arabic, 1st Division, 1887. Early in this year (16th March) Dr. A. F. R. Hoernle was appointed Examiner in Hindi in the place of Mr.

A. E. Gough—Government Letter (Home Department), No. 18, dated 16th March 1887.

In March a Committee was appointed to revise the Higher Standard Examination in Hindustani, Colonel Jarrett was appointed a member, and upon their report the suggestion of the Commander-in-Chief to lower the standard and remove Hindi as one of the subjects of examination was negatived by the Government of India, Military Department, Letter No. 1622, D., dated 28th May 1887. In this year Colonel Ranking took Degree of Honour in Persian.

In February 1888, the Board of Examiners (Letter No. 52, dated 25th February 1888) reported to Government upon the suggestions made by the Finance Committee in March (F. C. No. 32, dated 11th March 1887) 1887 as to the economies to be practised by reduction in the Board of Examiners. The report of the Board is worth reading as it throws a lurid light upon the system of examination pursued in Madras and Bombay. They are rightly stigmatised as "self-condemned absurdities" being "Boards of Examiners that cannot examine." The result was that the bottom was completely knocked out of the Finance Committee's proposals, and certainly a more illogical, irrational document than their note it is impossible to imagine. In September 1888, Colonel Jarrett went on privilege leave, and his duties were taken by Captain I. H. Sadler on the 29th September 1888. In April 1889, Colonel Jarrett took furlough for 182 days and was again relieved by Captain Sadler. In this year Maulvi Kabiruddin Ahmad died.

In January 1889, Surgeon-Major Ranking passed Degree of Honour in Urdu 1st Division.

In January 1890, Colonel Victor Edward Law, Madras Cavalry, passed the Degree of Honour in Persian 1st Division. Colonel Jarrett on return from furlough resumed charge on the 19th December 1890, relieving Major Sadler.

From 1st January 1890, the Lower Standard Examination was taken over by the Board of Examiners, it had previously been held by local committees, but was found to be a failure on account of the irregularity both in examining and marking candidates. Hindi was the language of the Higher Standard and Urdu of the Lower Standard.

Major Sadler passed by the Degree of Honour in Arabic on the 22nd and following days of December 1890.

On the 7th May (1892), Colonel Jarrett proceeded on 6 months' special leave and handed over charge to Surgeon-Major Ranking, I.M.S.

In July of this year the Lower Standard in Urdu was divided into two parts with a view to promote the study of the native languages by the rank and file of the British Army in India with effect from 1st April 1893. The

text-book was to be printed in the Roman character in this case (Military Department, No. 2440B., dated 29th July 1892).

In October 1892, Surgeon-Major Ranking obtained a Degree of Honour in Hindi, 1st Division.

On the 17th November, Colonel Jarrett on return from leave resumed charge from Surgeon Major Ranking.

On the 17th June 1894, Surgeon-Major G. S. A. Ranking, M.D., I.M. S., assumed charge of the office of Member and Secretary, Board of Examiners *vice* Colonel Jarrett who retired on attaining the age of 55.

In July, Surgeon-Major Ranking was appointed to hold charge of that portion of the Home Department which is in Calcutta during the absence of Mr. G. W. Forrest, in addition to his own duties.

On the 28th June 1894, the following letter (No. 217) was addressed by the Government of India, to the President, Board of Examiners :—

"Sir, I am directed to say that the Government of India cannot allow Colonel H. S. Jarrett to retire from the post which he has held for so many years without placing on record their sense of the ability and scholarship with which he has discharged its duties. Colonel Jarrett was appointed to officiate as Secretary to the Board of Examiners on the 18th April 1870, and was confirmed a year later; he has since, with intervals of leave, held the office continuously and has thus been Secretary to the Board for the long period of 24 years. He qualified himself for the work of his appointment by obtaining Degrees of Honour in Persian and Urdu, and he latterly gave much attention to the study of Arabic, though he did not compete for a Degree in that language. His translations of Suyuti's "History of the Caliphs" and of the last two-thirds of the *Ain-i-Akbari* of Abul Fazl, which he undertook for the Asiatic Society of Bengal, have procured for him a European reputation as an Arabic and Persian scholar and are in themselves works of solid usefulness.

"The Governor-General in Council feels much regret at losing the assistance of so eminent a scholar and so experienced an official and trusts that Colonel Jarrett will in his retirement long continue to pursue with success the studies in which he has gained so much distinction."

In August 1894, Surgeon-Major Ranking was appointed to act as Secretary to the Government of India under the Inventions and Designs Act V of 1888 in addition to his other duties.

In this year the Adjutant-General in India addressed Government on the question of encouraging the study of Chinese by the officers of the Army in India, (Letter No. 3236, dated 2nd June 1894). With this view it was proposed to extend to Military Officers the provisions of the Home Department, Notification No. 215, dated 24th April 1893, which applied only to officers of the

Burma Commission. The Board of Examiners was asked by Government whether in the event of it being decided to introduce rules for this purpose, they had the means of examining in Chinese. There being no one on the Board conversant with Chinese the Board of Examiners addressed the Government of Bengal, the Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Chinese Envoy at Darjeeling. No examiner could be found and the matter was allowed to drop.

In October 1894, the Government of India decided, (No. 2744B., dated 10th October 1894), that in consequence of the amalgamation of the three Staff Corps it was desirable that there should be but one standard of qualification in languages for Bengal, Madras and Bombay. Government considered that Hindi should be eliminated from the Higher Standard Tests and that the examinations should be in Urdu only. It was also decided that on permanent appointment to a regiment an officer should be required to pass in the language spoken in the regiment. In the case of the Hindustani Examination the Lower Standard should be a stepping stone to the higher.

The Board of Examiners were asked to furnish suggestions as to what the Lower Standard test should be so as to ensure a knowledge of grammar and a thorough grounding on the part of the candidates. A suggestion was also made to substitute some other work for the Bagh-o-Bahar.

The Board of Examiners in May 1895 submitted to Government their draft of the revised rules for the conduct of examinations in Urdu by the Higher and Lower Standards. The Bagh-o-Bahar was recommended for retention as the text-book. Hindi was abolished with effect from 1st October 1895, (Military Department Letter No. 422B., dated 2nd February 1895, also Adjutant-General in India, No. 6993D., dated 7th November 1894, Military Department Letter No. 1352B., dated 1st May 1895).

In June 1895, a candidate having applied to be examined by the High Proficiency Test in three languages the Secretary addressed Government as to the impossibility of such a feat being successfully performed and requested that orders might issue prohibiting candidates from undergoing examination in more than one language at any given examination. Government, however, did not think it desirable to sanction this proposal (Home Department, No. 258, dated 27th June 1895). Government continued to press the question of the introduction of a new text-book in supersession of the Bagh-o-Bahar. The Board expressed their willingness to suggest an additional text-book, but would not recommend the abolition of the Bagh-o-Bahar (B. E. No. 62c, dated 29th July 1895). Government then asked the Board to express their views as to the text-books, (Military Department Letter No. 2263B., dated 12th August 1895).

Accordingly in August, (B. E. No. 666, dated 19th August 1895), the Board recommended that in place of the Hindi text-book in addition to the Bagh-o-Bahar selections from the Prem Sagar consisting of 230 pages there should be substituted (1) a Selection of History comprising the History of India up to the end of the Muhammadan Dynasties and (2) a Selection embodying the principles and chief practices of the Muhammadan religion—in all about 250 pages. For the Lower Standard the present selection from the Bagh-o-Bahar was to be retained.

On the 13th November 1894, Surgeon-Major Ranking's *Guide to Hindustani* was introduced as a text-book for Regimental Schools in "Bengal" in place of Forbe's Grammar (Military Department Letter No. 2465C., dated 13th November 1894, corrected to India in Military Department Letter No. 676C., dated 9th April 1895).

In March 1895, the Honourable D. R. Lyall, C.S.I., Member of the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, was appointed to perform the duties of the Office of President of the Board of Examiners during the absence on furlough of the Honourable Mr. Justice O'Kinealy. (Home Department No. 140, dated 22nd March 1895).

In October 1895, an important proposal was made by the Government of India in consequence of the difficulty experienced in finding Military Officers qualified to sit as Presidents of Boards of Examination by the Higher Standard. Government accordingly suggested that the Secretary to the Board of Examiners should periodically make a tour from Calcutta, twice a year, for the purpose of conducting these examinations. A report upon this proposal by the Board of Examiners was called for (Home Department Letter No. 439, dated 31st October 1895). It was at the same time represented by Government to the Adjutant-General that the number of officers passing the High Proficiency test in Urdu or Hindi had been steadily diminishing and that in the years 1893 and 1894 no officers at all had passed by either of these tests. With a view to offer increased encouragement Government decided to increase the reward for passing from Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 1,500, also to allow a fee of Rs. 100 to officers presiding at each Higher Standard Examination (for which post the possession of a High Proficiency certificate was a necessary qualification) and thirdly to extend the limit of time for passing from ten to twenty years. These provisions were to take effect from 1st April 1896, (Military Department Letter No. 2905B., dated 2nd November 1895).

Government having called for further information as to the additional text-book recommended by the Board for the Higher Standard, the Board, (Letter No. 1068, dated 4th December 1895), replied that the selection prepared by the Secretary in anticipation or sanction consisted of extracts from two works the *Wāḡ-at-i-Hind* and an Urdu translation of *Ghunyatu-t-*

Talibet. The Board strongly recommended the adoption of this proposed selection.

1896.—In August of this year, Dr. Grierson's new edition of the "Satsaiya of Bihari and Lala Chandrika," one of the text-books for the Degree of Honour in Hindi was received from the Government of India. It is needless to say that the edition was most valuable and added fresh laurels to those already earned by its distinguished editor. (Home Department, 372, dated 24th September 1896).

The Board's suggestions as to the new text-book for the Higher Standard were not accepted by Government who in their Military Department, letter No. 2227B., dated 14th September 1896, para. 5 accepted Part I, consisting of selections from the Wagiāt-i-Hind and before deciding upon its adoption for the Lower Standard upon the recommendation of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief (Sir George White) called for a further report from the Board as to the necessity for retaining the Bagh-o-Bahar as a text-book for the Lower Standard. Government, however, accepted Sir George White's recommendation to adopt the Wagiāt-i-Hind as a text-book for the Higher Standard in place of the Bagh-o-Bahar and Prem Sagar. This was never the intention of the Board of Examiners who it will be remembered recommended the selection from the Wagiāt-i-Hind as an additional text-book to replace the Prem Sagar only, and over and over again laid stress upon the necessity for retaining the Bagh-o-Bahar.

In November 1896, Dr. Hoernle, Principal of the Calcutta Madrasa, and the Honourable Nawab Syed Amir Husain, C.I.E., were appointed Members of the Board of Examiners, (Home Department Notification No. 447, dated 26th November 1896).

The tour system of examination was finally decided upon in August 1896, and a new system of marking for the High Proficiency was at the same time ordered to be adopted (Home Department, Letter No. 336, dated 25th August 1896). The half-yearly tours were to be made in March and October, and the examinations were to be held at Lahore and Lucknow. This system was not (para. 2) to "supersede the present system under which Higher Standard Examinations are held in all military districts." This as will appear later was the cause of the admitted failure of these Tour Examinations (also Home Department Letter No. 221, dated 5th June 1897).

In February 1897, (Military Department Letter No. 518B., dated 19th February 1897) the Government of India decided to accept the suggestions of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief as to the supersession of the Bagh-o-Bahar in spite of the representations of the Board of Examiners who strongly urged the retention of the Bagh-o-Bahar, written as it is in excellent Urdu, possessing a copious vocabulary and affording an insight into the

life, habits, customs and thoughts of the natives of India, (Military Department, Letter No. 646B., dated 3rd March 1897), accordingly the Secretary to the Board was directed to prepare the new text-books for the higher and lower Standards consisting of selections from the *Waqiat-i-Hind*. This work is a history of India published by the press of Munshi Newal Kishore of Lucknow.

Surgeon Lieutenant-Colonel Ranking proceeded on three months' privilege leave on the 7th July 1897, and was relieved by Captain Wolseley Haig, I.S.C. Dr. Ranking was appointed by the Calcutta University to attend the Oriental Congress to be held in September in Paris, as the Delegate of the University. Dr. Ranking resumed charge of his duties on the 12th October 1897.

In August 1897, Dr. Hoernle, Principal of the Calcutta Madrasa, was appointed to perform the duties of President of the Board of Examiners during the absence on leave of Mr. Justice O'Kinealy, (Home Department, No. 273, dated 5th August 1897).

In December 1897, the sanction of Government was given to the printing and publication of the new text-books, copies of which in manuscript had been submitted by the Secretary on the 18th and 25th November for approval (S. B. E. Nos. 821 and 840).

From 1st January 1898, the rent of the premises 17, Elysium Row, was raised Rs. 100 a month. Government renewed the lease for four years from that date at a rental of Rs. 575 plus rates and taxes.

The first tour examination under the new rules was held in March 1898.

In April 1898, Dr. Ranking was appointed to act temporarily as Surgeon-Superintendent of the Presidency General Hospital, Calcutta, in addition to his own duties. [*Calcutta Gazette*, No. 2176Medl., dated 13th April 1898, page 385]. This he held till the end of May. In June 1898, a translation into Persian of an English inscription for the pillar to be erected at Saragarhi on the Samana, with a view to commemorate the defence of that post by a detachment of the 36th Sikhs, was made by the Secretary to the Board, and forwarded to the Home Department with his letter No. 479, dated 23rd June. The inscription with a very bald and unidiomatic version in Persian had been previously sent from Simla to the Board for examination and report, (Home Department Letter No. 246, dated 16th June 1898.)

In August 1898, Surgeon Lieutenant-Colonel Ranking was granted special leave for six months (Home Department, No. 516, dated 25th July 1898), and Captain W. Haig was appointed to act as Secretary. He assumed charge on the 10th August.

In January 1899, Government decided not to appoint a successor to Dr. Hoernle in the post of Hindi Examiner on the ground that the Secretary



to the Board of Examiners if competent to do so should conduct the examinations in Hindi without extra remuneration. The competency of the Secretary was dependent upon his being qualified by the possession of the Degree of Honour in Hindi (H. D. Letter No. 33, dated 26th January 1899). Lieutenant Col. Ranking resumed charge of the office of Secretary on the 13th February 1899 relieving Captain Haig.

In March 1899, Mr. Justice Rampini was appointed President of the Board of Examiners in place of Mr. Justice O'Kinealy who resigned the appointment.

The *Waqiat-i-Hind* came into use as a text-book from 1st April 1899. In April the post of Bengali Pandit became vacant owing to the dismissal of the permanent incumbent for absence without leave. The vacancy was advertised and from the numerous applicants for the post Pandit Gobind Lal Banerjee was selected and appointed from 1st July 1899.

A question having arisen as to the continued employment of Mahamopadhyay Mahesh Chandra Nayaratna in his office of Sanskrit and Bangali Examiner he having retired from the service of Government in 1895, the Board concurred in the proposal of Government to retain him in his appointment for a further period of five years, subject to his continuing competent to perform his duties. (H. D. No. 287, dated 10th May and B. E. No. 537 dated 25th May 1899). He was accordingly retained for five years from 1st July 1899, (H. D. No. 370, dated 23rd June 1899).

In May 1899, the East Indian Railway decided that all their officers should be required to pass examination in Hindustani and Bengali, and asked the Board of Examiners if they could with the sanction of Government undertake these examinations and propose a scheme of examination. It was eventually decided that the examinations should be in two standards, colloquial and lower standard. The colloquial was as its name implies strictly a conversational test, while the lower standard was identical with the ordinary lower standard of Government officers. Sanction to this proposal was accorded by Government in letter No. 289, dated 12th May 1900.

In May 1899, Government decided that an officer who appeared for the Higher Standard in Hindustani, but failed to pass, might be declared to have passed by the Lower Standard in case he had shewn sufficient merit. (M. D. letter No. 1361, dated 25th August 1899).

With reference to this it may be observed that candidates were allowed to present themselves for the Higher Standard without having previously passed by the Lower Standard. This the Board of Examiners had consistently opposed on the ground that it was incompatible with the declared intention of Government that the Lower Standard should be a stepping stone to the Higher at the time Hindi was abolished, and both Lower and Higher Standards were held in Urdu as well as on general grounds.

In June 1899 certain representations were made to the Government of India as to the necessity for amending the examinations in Persian with a view to increasing their practical utility, and a long correspondence began on the subject between Government and the Board of Examiners. The general allegation made was that the examinations held by the Board were unpractical and took no account of modern requirements. This, however, was shewn to be incorrect, and the Secretary in his letter No. 609, dated 19th June 1899, pointed out that at all events as far as the examinations held at Calcutta were concerned no candidate could pass by the High Proficiency who was not well acquainted with the modern idiom of Persia. It was admitted, however, that certain improvements might be made in the way of manuscript documents given for reading and translating, and the Secretary had already written to Major Sykes, H. M.'s Consul at Kirman, to ask him to procure a collection of modern documents for the purpose. A long correspondence ensued, and up to the present time (1902 November) no final decision has been arrived at by the Government, who are naturally anxious to consider the question in all its different bearings before making the radical changes which have been advocated in the course of a long correspondence on this subject. The principal suggestions made by the Board will be found in their letter No. 201 of 19th March 1900. In this year also the examination for the Higher Standard in Urdu was made the subject of stricture by the Inspector-General of Artillery, Major-General Tyler and the Commander-in-Chief, (Sir William Lockhart) addressed the Government of India with the object of securing a revision of the examinations for both Higher and Lower Standards in Urdu (Letter No. 2150 D., dated 11th October 1899). The chief points urged by Sir William Lockhart were that the examinations were not sufficiently practical, and he put forward certain suggestions with a view to making them more practical. The subject was taken into consideration by the Board of Examiners who, in their letter No. 118, dated 10th February 1900, reported to Government the result of their deliberations. The Board so far agreed with Sir William Lockhart's contention, that they considered the text-book in use for the Higher and Lower Standards the "Waqiat-i-Hind" as not practically useful and pointed out that this work had been substituted for the Bagh-o-Bahar in opposition to the frequently expressed desire of the Board that the Bagh-o-Bahar should be retained. To this new text-book the Board attributed the great number of failures of late. In other respects, however, the Board considered the examinations by both standards as "eminently practical," and pointed out that the adoption of Sir William Lockhart's suggested modifications would neither be desirable nor convenient in practice.

Together with other suggestions the Board once more urged the abolition of the rule permitting candidates to appear for the Higher Standard

without having passed by the Lower, in the interests both of the public service and in those of the candidates themselves (Sir William Lockhart died on the 19th March 1900).

In April 1900, Lieutenant-Colonel Ranking went on six months' furlough, Lieut.-Col. Spencer being appointed to act for him (Home Department Notification No. 195, dated 30th March 1900). Lieut.-Col. Spencer took over charge on the 19th April.

In May 1900, sanction was given to examinations in Urdu by the Lower and Higher Standards being held in Mauritius under the same conditions as in Burma. Lieut.-Col. Ranking resumed charge of his duties on the 17th September 1900.

The Government of India in reply to the Board's representations regarding the text-book for the Urdu examinations sanctioned the re-introduction of the *Bagh-o-Bahar* (Military Department letter No. 2694B., dated 13th September 1900), but put forward certain proposals for modifying the examinations which included a proposal to substitute one set of papers for candidates by both Higher and Lower Standards as well as one to allow local committees to deal finally with the whole of the examination including the written exercise.

The Board of Examiners in their letter No. 1253, dated 27th November 1900, strongly opposed these proposals on the ground that they would react most detrimentally upon the efficiency of Officers of Native Regiments while it would also tend to introduce as many standards as there are committees. The Board once more urged the abolition of the rule under which officers were allowed to try for the Higher Standard without having passed by the Lower.

In November 1900, Lieutenant-Colonel Ranking was appointed to act as Principal of the Calcutta Madrasa in addition to his own duties. On the 8th December, while playing cricket, Lieut.-Col. Ranking received an injury to his left eye in so serious a nature that the eye was destroyed and had to be excised on the 17th December.

At the end of the year a force was despatched to China and examinations by the Lower and Higher Standards in Urdu were held in that country under the orders of the Government of India, (Telegram A. G. No. 3582 D., Simla, 14th December 1900).

1901.—Early in 1901, the Examination Hall was provided with electric light, and new book cases with glass doors were substituted for the open book shelves during the year. S. B. E. No. 13, dated 3rd January 1901.

In January 1901, a scheme was submitted to Government for improving conditions under which young officers learn the native languages. (No. 31, P.B.E., dated 12th January 1901). This scheme had been prepared by Lieutenant-Colonel Ranking and provided for the grant to young officers

appointed to the Staff Corps or candidates for such appointments serving with British Regiments, of four months' leave for the purpose of studying Urdu. This period of leave was to be spent in Calcutta at the College of Fort William, (Board of Examiners) for the purpose of undergoing a course of systematic instruction in Urdu. Under this scheme the rewards for passing were to be discontinued and instruction by approved Munshis provided by the Board of Examiners under the immediate direction of the Secretary. Examinations were to be held every month as a test of the progress made and the results reported confidentially to the General Officer Commanding the Presidency District. The Secretary was to receive an increment of Rs. 500 a month as Director of Instruction in Oriental Languages, and the whole extra cost of the scheme was to be Rs. 12,000 annually. Against this it was shewn that some Rs. 15,000 or Rs. 1,6000 annually would be saved in rewards. The scheme was undoubtedly a very promising one, but for some unexplained reason the Government of India decided not to adopt it, and the matter was allowed to drop (Home Department letter No. 197, dated 18th March 1901). In consequence of ill-health the Examiner in Sanskrit and Bengali Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Mahesh Chandra Nayaratna, C.I.E., was obliged to tender his resignation of his office which was accepted with effect from 1st March 1901, pending permanent arrangements. Pandit Gobin Lal Banerjee, Bengali Pandit to the Board, was appointed to act as Examiner in Sanskrit and Bengali. In March 1901, a report on the tour examinations was submitted to the Home Department in compliance with instructions received (S. B. E. No. 271, dated 19th. March 1901). At the end of March 1901, Lieutenant-Colonel Ranking was compelled owing to the threatened failure of his eyesight from strain to the uninjured eye the result of his having resumed work so soon after his accident to apply for leave on medical certificate for six months, (S. B. E. No. 286, dated 25th March 1901). This was granted with effect from 11th May (Home Department Notification No. 419, dated 10th May 1901), and Lieutenant-Colonel Quentin appointed to officiate (Home Department Notification No. 420, dated 10th May 1901).

The *Bagh-o-Bahar* was reintroduced as a text-book from the 1st October 1901. A new edition in Nastalik type had been prepared by Lieutenant-Colonel Ranking and printed at the Baptist Mission Press, (Military Department No. 831 B., dated 28th February 1901).

In April 1901, Mahamahopadhyaya Nilmani Nyayalankar was appointed Examiner in Sanskrit and Bengali, (Home Department No. 346, dated 9th April 1901), and assumed charge on the 1st April.

In June 1901, the tests for the Higher and Lower Standards Urdu were definitely adhered to in view of the objections raised by the Board of Examiners, but Government decided that for the future the local examining

Board should finally dispose of the whole examination, the written exercise being marked by the Secretary to the Board of Examiners, and returned to the President of the Local Board. A definite scale of marks was also laid down in substitution for the previous system of marking by general terms. Half marks in each subject and a minimum of 60 per cent. on the total were required to pass (Military Department No. 2058 B., dated 15th June 1901). These rules were to come into force from the 1st October 1901. Candidates who obtained a certain percentage of marks were permitted to be passed by the Lower Standard. This requisite percentage was at first fixed at 50 per cent., but subsequently upon the recommendation of the Board the standard was lowered, the requirements for the Higher Standard being fixed at 50 per cent., all round, with a minimum of 35 per cent., in each subject except in colloquial for which a minimum of 50 per cent., was required. For the Lower Standard 40 per cent. in the aggregate was demanded with not less than 35 per cent., in each subject except in colloquial for which 50 per cent., was the minimum. (Military Department letter No. 3260 B., dated 13th August 1902).

In June 1901, when the question of the renewal of the lease of 17, Elysium Row came up for decision, Government enquired of the Board as to the suitability of the top floor of the late Agra Bank Building for the accommodation of the Office of the Board of Examiners. It was eventually decided to remove the office to those premises from 1st January 1902, and not to renew the lease of 17, Elysium Row which was to expire on that date. The late Agra Bank Building is a very fine three storied building situated at the corner of the Mangoe Lane, and Mission Row, the lower and middle floors are occupied by the Currency Office. The examinations are conducted in the verandah facing the south and looking out on Mangoe Lane. It is rather noisy for the purpose and hot, but is provided with electric-fans and the office is provided with electric-light throughout. The Library occupies five rooms, two rooms being occupied by the clerks and the room at the south-west end of the verandah is used by the Secretary as his private office room, this room has a small tiffin-room and dressing-room opening out of it.

In July 1901, the Government of India decided to discontinue the tour examinations in consequence of the small number of officers who availed themselves of it. (Home Department letter No. 574, dated 19th July 1901). The failure of the scheme was undoubtedly due to the fact that the ordinary quarterly examinations by upcountry Boards were continued *pari passu* and candidates preferred appearing before Local Committees in the idea that examinations held by the Secretary to the Board were more searching and thorough and therefore were difficult to pass. At this time also Government in consultation with the Board of Examiners decided to abolish the post of Sanskrit and Bengali Examiner on the expiry of the year for which Mahamopadhyaya Nilmani

Nyayalankar had been appointed, and instead to appoint a temporary Examiner when required. Home Department letter No. 505, dated 13th June 1901, S. B. E. letter No. 747, dated June 1901.

In August 1901, it was decided by Government to do away with text-books for the examination by the High Proficiency and Degree of Honour Standards in Persian and the Board of Examiners were asked to submit for the approval of Government, a list of works suitable in point of difficulty to the character of these examinations as a guide to candidates (Home Department No. 606, dated 5th August 1901). In this letter Government also directed that the services of a Persian or Arabic speaking gentleman unconnected with the Board, and not engaged in tuition should in future be utilised for the conversational tests in all Persian and Arabic examinations held by the Board.

The Civil and Military Examination Committee at Bombay had submitted a list of books which they considered suitable, and this list was forwarded to the Board of Examiners for consideration and report.

On the 25th October 1901, Lieutenant-Colonel Ranking resumed charge of his duties on return from medical leave.

In November 1901, a house-rent allowance of Rs. 150 a month was attached to the appointment of Secretary to the Board of Examiners in consequence of the new arrangements for the office by which the Secretary lost the quarters occupied by him in the Office Building at 17, Elysium Row. (Home Department No. 794, dated 16th. November 1901).

The actual transfer of the office took place at the end of December, and the first examination in 1902 was held at the New Building No. 26, Mangoe Lane in January 1902.

During the transfer of the Library to the new building two Mss. of great interest were discovered. One of these is the original ms. translation of the institutes of Manu by Sir William Jones. It is in his own handwriting and bears no date. A description of the manuscript will be found in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1901 together with the following manuscript. The second manuscript is the original catalogue of the Library of Tipu Sultan which was prepared by Major Charles Stewart in 1805-6. It is signed by him and dated 7th January 1806. It has been rebound as the original binding was destroyed, the book having been found tossed away in a corner with a lot of waste paper. A note upon this manuscript comparing it with the printed catalogue subsequently published by Stewart at the University Press, Cambridge in 1809, has been prepared by the writer of this record and a copy is in the Board of Examiners' Library. Copies were also sent to the principal libraries in Europe and America. The copy of Major Stewart's Oriental catalogue in possession of the Board of Examiners was presented by the author himself.

In April 1902, Mr. Justice Rampini proceeded on furlough and Mr. Justice Brett was appointed to perform the duties of President of the Board of Examiners during his absence (Home Department No. 312, dated 25th April 1902).

In May 1902, the Board of Examiners were consulted by the Government of India, (Home Department No. 386, dated 21st May 1902), with reference to the desirability of altering the existing system of examination in the Arabic language.

During 1902, a complete catalogue *raisonnée* of the library of the Board was prepared under the superintendence of Lieutenant-Colonel Ranking, Secretary to the Board and was printed at the Government Press.

It was considered desirable to try and make the examination in Arabic more practical (Home Department letter No. 386, dated 21st May 1902). The views of the Board were laid before Government in letter No. 1005 of the 8th July 1902. The Board suggested the introduction of a preliminary qualifying examination the scope of which they laid down.

In May 1902, a selection of manuscripts in *fac simile* of Teheran and Bushire correspondence was published by the Board of Examiners for the use of candidates for High Proficiency and Degree of Honour in Persian.

During the year, new catalogues of the whole library were prepared under the superintendence of Lieutenant-Colonel Ranking, both printed books and manuscripts. Among the manuscripts was found a copy written in the Urdu character of some Hindu Poetry by Kabir consisting of verses not to be found in the published works of that poet. By the help of Pandit Sudhakar Divedi of Benares it was transcribed into Nagari and a copy placed in the library, another copy being presented to Dr. Grierson. The Urdu copy is erroneously called Diwan-i-Kabir and is referred to by Garcin de Tassy in his *Litterature Hindouie-et-Hindoustanie* under that title (page 282) where it is referred to Hakim Kabir Sumbuli Ansari. The poems, however, are the work of the famous Kabir.

On the 6th August 1902, sanction was given by Government to the transfer from the Library of the Board of Examiners to the Imperial Library of a number of works of which spare copies existed in the former Library. A list of these works will be found accompanying office letter No. 989, dated 2nd July 1902. (Home Department letter No. 2442 of 6th August 1902).

During the year 1902, Lieutenant-Colonel Ranking prepared and published an Annotated Glossary to the Bagh-o-Bahar as an aid to candidates for the Lower and Higher Standard Examinations in Urdu. (S.B.E. letter No. 1208, dated 22nd August 1902). Lieutenant-Colonel Ranking also prepared in this year a fresh revised edition of the Bagh-o-Bahar, which was printed in Nastalik type at the Baptist Mission Press.

CALCUTTA,  
The 24th November 1902.

GEORGE RANKING, Lt.-Col., I.M.S.,  
Secretary, Board of Examiners.

*P.S.*—Lieut.-Colonel Ranking retired in 1905, and was succeeded in the Secretaryship by Major D. C. Phillott, I.A., the present incumbent.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES.

THE REVEREND DAVID BROWN.

First Provost of the College of Fort William, was a Yorkshire-man by birth. He was a son of Francis Brown of Driffeld Greets near Driffeld and was born either late in 1763 or early in 1764.

From his early years he was devoted to the service of the Church and with that career in view was placed under private tuition at Scarborough. Thence he proceeded to the Public Grammar School of Kingston over Hull of which the Reverend Joseph Milner was at that time Head Master.

On the 4th February 1782 he entered "at the age of 20" as an undergraduate of Magdalene College where he was, as the College records shew, "admitted Sizar by Mr. Samuel Hey, Tutor of the College." In the same year he was elected to a scholarship on Mr. Robert's foundation. He does not appear to have taken any degree.

In February 1785, when about 22 years of age, Mr. Brown whilst still an undergraduate received from Major A. Mitchell of the East India Company's service, the offer of the superintendence of the Bengal Military Orphan Asylum at Howrah near Calcutta. Marriage and ordination were indispensable qualifications imposed upon him as conditions of acceptance of this offer. The former condition was complied with though, unfortunately the name of the lady cannot be ascertained, but Mr. Brown met with a refusal from Dr. Lowth, the Bishop of London to whom he first preferred his request for ordination. However, with the sanction of the Archbishop of Canterbury he was ordained Deacon by Dr. Watson, the Bishop of Llandaff on the 25th February 1785. After receiving from the Honourable Court of Directors an advance for the expenses of the voyage to India, Mr. Brown sailed on the 14th November from Gravesend. During the voyage on the 1st February 1786, a son was born to the young couple and was baptised by his father on 26th February by the name of David Mitchell.

They arrived in Calcutta on Thursday the 8th June 1786, and on Sunday 18th June David Brown assumed formal charge of his duties as Superintendent of the Orphan Asylum. In the intervening days he was appointed Chaplain to the Company's 6th Battalion then quartered at Fort William. This appointment was made on 16th June.

In 1787, David Brown voluntarily assumed charge of the Mission Church upon the retirement of Kiernander whose strength was unequal to a continuance in the ministration, enfeebled as he was by old age. He was 76 and had fallen upon evil times being on the verge of bankruptcy. The Mission



Church was Kiernander's property and being put up for sale, was bought in 1787 by Mr. Charles Grant of the Civil Service. From this time forward for twenty five years, David Brown held the ministry of "the Old Church" as it was subsequently called. This Church was always known to the native community as the "Lal Girja" (Red Church) a name by which it still goes even at the present day. This name arose from its being covered with a kind of red plaster pieces of which have within the last few years been recovered during alterations to the Church. An historical account of this "Old" or Mission Church will be found in the pages of the Old Church Parish Magazine for 1895 in a series of interesting articles. In the November 1897 number of the same Magazine there is an account of this church explanatory of its name of Lal Girja. Its foundation stone was laid in 1767 and it was opened on Advent Sunday 1770. It was called *Beth Tephillah*. Its architect was one M. B. de Mevella Dane, and its cost amounting to some Rs. 60,000 was defrayed by Mr. Kiernander himself. It was subsequently enlarged and improved by David Brown with the assistance of his friend and co-trustee Mr. William Chambers Proto-notary and Persian Interpreter to the Supreme Court of Judicature who died on the 22nd August 1793 and was buried in the South Park Street Burial Ground.

The Old or Mission Church is situated in Mission Row. The present church is so arranged that the communion table stands in the North. The old chancel now forms a baptistery, an alteration which was made in 1895 owing to the necessity for enlarging the church.

David Brown was the prime mover in founding the Auxiliary Bible Society of which he was the first Secretary. In 1800 he also founded the Calcutta Charitable Fund. He held the office of Provost of the College of Fort William from its first foundation. On the 15th May 1806 this office was abolished by the orders of the Honourable Court of Directors. Mr. Brown, however, still continued to afford assistance to the Council of the College for some years.

David Brown was twice married. "His second wife was Miss Frances Cowley, daughter of Captain Cowley and Mrs. Cowley, author of the *Belle's Stratagem*, etc." (This quotation is from a letter written to me by the Reverend G. I. Cowley Brown, Rector of St. Johns and Cannon of St. Mary's Cathedral, Edinburgh, a grandson of David Brown). A daughter by this marriage "Frances Cowley" Brown died aged 18 on the 3rd March 1824 and her tomb is in the South Park Street Burial-Ground next to that of David Brown.

In 1812, Mr. Brown was attacked by a dangerous illness and died on the 14th June in that year aged 48 or 49. He lies buried in the South Park Street Burial-Ground close to the entrance. His tomb is on the right hand side of the gateway as you enter. It bears the following inscription.

"Sacred to the memory of Reverend David Brown who was ten years Senior Chaplain at the Presidency and Provost of the College of Fort William ; he also held in trust the Ministry of the Old Church one and twenty years. He died 14th June 1812, aged 48 years. The Memory of the Just is blessed."

In the Old Church there is so a memorial of the Revd. David Brown in the shape of a black tablet fixed in the wall of the old chancel (now the baptistery). The inscription reads "to the poor the Gospel was preached in this church by the Reverend David Brown, twenty five years."

There is, as already pointed out, some uncertainty as to the actual year of his birth. From the Magdalene College records which state that he entered the College at the age of 20 on 4th February 1782, he would appear to have been born in 1762, while the above inscriptions point to 1763 or 1764 as the year of his birth.

For these biographical notes, I am indebted to various sources. The extracts from the registers of Magdalene College Cambridge, were forwarded to me by the Master of the College, Lord Braybrooke. I am also under obligation to the Reverend G. I. Cowley Brown, Rector of St. John's, Edinburgh, the Revd. Mr. Carysfort Proby of Portbury Vicarage, W. Bristol and to Miss Kathleen Blechynden of Ryde for their kindness in giving me family information by letter. Other sources have been the Memorial sketches of David Brown published in London, 1816, *the Dictionary of National Biography* and *the Bengal Obituary*. The portrait is reproduced from a photograph lent me by the Reverend Canon Cowley Brown a grandson of David Brown.

#### THE REVEREND CLAUDIUS BUCHANAN.

First Vice-Provost of the College of Fort William. He was born at Camburlang near Glasgow on the 12th March 1766. He was the son of Mr. Alexander Buchanan who married a daughter of Mr. Claudius Somers one of the elders of the Church at Camburlang. In 1773, when seven years of age Claudius Buchanan entered the Grammar School of Inverary, Argyllshire of which his father was then Master. Here he remained till the year 1779 and in 1780, was appointed tutor to the two sons of Mr. Campbell of Dunstaffnage. In 1782 he left Mr. Campbell's family and proceeded to the University of Glasgow, but left again in 1784 to become tutor to the sons of Mr. Campbell of Knockelly and in 1785, he became tutor to the sons of Mr. Campbell of Carradell in Kintyre. In 1786, Buchanan once more returned to College at Glasgow, but in the following year left Scotland with the intention of making the tour of Europe in foot with his violin to aid in maintaining him on the way. This project was doomed to failure and after undergoing many hardships Buchanan obtained a situation as clerk to an attorney in London, and

subsequently with a Solicitor with whom he remained some three years. During the period he suffered much from the pressure of poverty. At length in the Michaelmas term of 1791, Buchanan was entered as a pensioner of Queen's College, Cambridge, where he was to remain at the expense of a friend, a Mr. Thornton, with the object of qualifying for Holy Orders.

For the following extracts from the "Book of Orders" of Queen's College, Cambridge, the writer is indebted to the courtesy of the present President, the Revd. F. S. Chase.—"27th February 1792. Elected Buchanan, Mr. Clarke's Scholar. 18th April 1792. I did then in the presence of the Society met in congregation, nominate Buchanan, Mr. Sedgwick's scholar. *Isacc Milner* January 19th 1793. I did then in the presence of the Society nominate Buchanan Librarian and Mr. Clarke's scholar. *Isacc Milner*. 4th July 1795. Granted to Buchanan his grace for the Degree of Bachelor of Arts. 10th August 1795. Granted to Buchanan Testimonials for Deacon's orders "Buchanan Claudius Buchanan, Glasguieusis 27th October 1791. Mrs. Jordan and Knipe." The last names in this entry are those of the tutors under whom Buchanan entered.

In 1794, the question of his going to India was first raised by his friend Mr. Newton, Rector of S. Mary Woolnoth. On the 20th September 1795, Mr. Buchanan was ordained Deacon at Fulham by Bishop Poitens and immediately entered upon his duties as Curate to Mr. Newton at S. Mary Woolnoth.

Early in 1796, however, his friends obtained for him an appointment as Chaplain in the service of the East India Company, his application being supported by excellent testimonials from his College and from the Bishop of London. This appointment was made on the 30th March 1796, and having been admitted to priest's orders he sailed from Portsmouth in the "Busbridge" East Indiaman, for Bengal on the 11th August following. He landed at Calcutta on the 10th March 1797, and took up his quarters at a house in Durrumtollah. Two months later he was appointed Chaplain of Barrackpore where he remained till November 1797. On the 3rd April 1797 Mr. Buchanan married Miss Mary Whish and his first daughter was born on the 12th January 1800. Miss Whish was the third daughter of the Revd. Richard Whish, Rector of Northwold, Norfolk and was not yet nineteen when she married Mr. Buchanan. She eventually died at sea on the way to England on board the *Lady Jane Dundas* on the 18th June 1805.

During his stay at Barrackpore, Buchanan became very friendly with the Revd. David Brown (the subject of the preceding notice) who was one of the Chaplains at the Presidency. After the death of Mr. Ringeltank who had been in charge of the "Lal Girja" or Mission Church, Mr. Brown and Mr. Buchanan shared between them the gratuitous labour of the Mission Church.

It was at Barrackpore that Buchanan commenced his studies of Hindustani and Persian.

In February 1800, Buchanan preached a sermon at the "New Church" (St. John's) before Lord Mornington on the occasion of the general thanks giving for the success of His Majesty's forces. For this sermon Mr. Buchanan received the thanks of the Governor-General in Council and it was directed that the sermon should be printed for distribution. Upon the foundation of the College of Fort William, 18th May 1800, Mr. Buchanan was appointed its Vice Provost. A letter from Mr. Buchanan to Mr. Grant, dated Saugor Roads, 23rd August 1800, gives an account of the College and further letters are of interest in connection with this special subject. In one of his letters Mr. Buchanan speaks of a College chapel (pages 220-221) of which the writer can find no mention in any of the College records. In 1802 Mr. Buchanan was able to repay Mr. Thornton the £400 which that gentleman had expended upon Buchanan's College career. He also devoted a sum of £500 "for the support of a young man at the University of religious character and good ability who might be in poor circumstances and whom Mr. Thornton or Mr. Newton or Dr. Milner, President of Queen's College, should select."

In 1804, Mr. Buchanan's offer of the institution of prizes for compositions were accepted by the several bodies to whom the offer had been made, with the exception of the University of Oxford; by which they were declined on the ground of certain objections in point of form. The compositions were to be in Greek, Latin or English verse and also essays in English.

Mr. Buchanan was the author of a Memoir on an Ecclesiastical Establishment and Indian Civilisation and also of a work entitled, "The College of Fort William in Bengal" consisting of all the official papers relating to his College with some account of its first four years. Of this latter work the present writer has made considerable use.

On the 4th June 1805, Mr. Buchanan addressed to the Vice-Chancellors of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge the proposal of the following subjects for prize composition in English Prose :—

I.—The probable design of the Divine Providence in subjecting so large a portion of Asia to the British Dominion.

II.—The duty, the means and the consequences of translating the Scriptures into the oriental tongues and of promoting Christian knowledge in Asia.

III.—A brief historic view of the progress of the Gospel in different nations since its first promulgation, illustrated by maps, shewing its luminous tract throughout the world with chronological notices of its duration in particular places.

The prize offered to each University was £500 and those prizes were to be determined on the 4th of June 1807, the anniversary of the birth of the reigning sovereign. Both Universities accepted Mr. Buchanan's munificent offer. In August 1805, on the eve of his departure for Malabar Mr. Buchanan was taken seriously ill and for some days his life was in imminent danger. However, in October the fever from which he was suffering began to abate and he gradually recovered his health. While at Sooksaugor at the end of October he received the tidings of the death of his wife who had died, as already mentioned, on the 18th June on board ship. Mr. Buchanan returned to Calcutta in better health on the 4th November 1805, and within a few weeks of his return addressed a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury on the subject of the promotion of Christian knowledge in India chiefly with reference to an ecclesiastical establishment and the translation of the Scriptures into the oriental languages. In the course of this letter he says "our hope of evangelizing Asia was once founded on the College of Fort William. But a rude hand had already touched it, and unless the Imperial Parliament interpose it will soon be said of this great and useful institution which enlightened a hemisphere of the globe." *Fuit Ilium et ingens gloria*. Its name, however, will remain for its record in many languages, and the good it hath done will never die, for it hath taught many the way to heaven. Had the College of Fort William been cherished at home with the same ardour with which it was opposed, it might in the period of ten years have produced translations of the Scriptures into all the languages from the borders of the Caspian to the sea of Japan. An idea seems to have gone forth in England that Lord Wellesley founded his College merely to instruct the Company's writers. Lord Wellesley founded the College of Fort William to enlighten the oriental world, to give science, religion and pure morals to Asia, and to confirm in it the British power and dominion (pages 374, 375). With this letter there was presented to the Archbishop "for the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth Palace, in the name of the College of Fort William and with the permission of the Marquis Wellesley, a valuable copy of the Mahomedan Koran in folio, beautifully ornamented with paintings and oriental enamel and written by the pen of the Sultan Allavuddin Siljuky about four hundred years ago. It has descended to these times in the line of Emperors and was found in the Library of Tippoo Sultan at Seringapatam after the reduction of that Capital by the British armies."

Shortly after this Mr. Buchanan was appointed by Sir George Barlow to be Provost of the College under the new regulation which admitted of only one superintending officer. On the day following, however, he intimated to Government his wish to resign that appointment in favour of Mr. Brown

who accordingly was retained in the office of Provost, Mr. Buchanan continuing as Vice-Provost till both offices were finally abolished on the 15th May 1806. Early in 1806, Mr. Buchanan drew up his "proposals for a subscription for translating the holy scriptures into fifteen oriental languages." His first intention had been that these should issue from the College, but the Governor-General declined to authorise a measure which might appear to identify the Government too closely and prominently with an extensive plan for promoting Christian knowledge amongst our native subjects. It was understood, however, that the undertaking would be under the patronage of the College of Fort William and in a very short time the sum of sixteen hundred pounds was subscribed in aid of the intended translations. The British and Foreign Bible Society was asked to assist the undertaking, but declined. Both Oxford and Cambridge Universities, however, accepted Mr. Buchanan's proposal that a sermon should be preached before each University on the subject of the translation of the Scriptures into the oriental languages by such persons as the Universities should appoint. Each preacher was to receive the sum of thirty guineas on the condition of the delivery of a printed copy of the sermon for the College of Fort William.

In 1805, Mr. Buchanan received from the University of Glasgow the Degree of Doctor in Divinity. This same degree was conferred upon him by the University of Cambridge.

In May 1806, Dr. Buchanan left Calcutta for Malabar and the memoirs from which we are quoting contains a very interesting account of his journeys, (Vol. II, pages 1-99). He returned to Calcutta on the 15th March 1807, to find that the posts of Provost and Vice-Provost had been abolished. Mr. Brown, the former Provost, in submitting his views on this change offered to continue to officiate if necessary without pay, but his offer was not accepted by Government and in consequence of the orders of the Court of Directors both offices were abolished.

Dr. Buchanan's "Literary intelligence" which contained a sketch of his proceedings on the Coast of Malabar was excluded from the *Government Gazette* and was accordingly circulated in a different form and was published in England by Bishop Portens, (Vol. II, p. 103). A full account of Dr. Buchanan's efforts to form a College for the translation of the Scriptures into the oriental tongues will be found in the memoirs from which this account has been extracted, pp. 103-172. Before leaving Calcutta he memorialised Lord Minto, the Governor-General, on the subject and preached a farewell sermon upon the necessity for upholding Christianity in India, and striving for the faith of the Gospel. He left Calcutta on the 27th November 1807 in the "Baretto" in which he proceeded as far as Colombo, where he embarked

on the "Canton" proceeding *via* Cochin for a second tour on the Malabar Coast accompanied by Colonel Macaulay. Memoirs, pp. 154-170. In March 1808 he sailed for Europe in the "Charlton" and arrived in London on the 18th August. He had now given up all thoughts of ever returning to India, intending to "grow old preaching the Gospel."

Dr. Buchanan after a visit to the Bodleian and other libraries presented to the Library of the University of Cambridge twenty five manuscripts chiefly Biblical written in Hebrew, Syriac and Ethiopic, (p. 210) and received the Degree of Doctor of Divinity from the University. From August 1808 to October 1809 he officiated at Welbeck Chapel, London. In November 1809, Dr. Buchanan became engaged to Mary, youngest daughter of Henry Thompson, Esq., of Kirley Hall near Boroughbridge in Yorkshire, and they were married in February 1810 living at Moat Hall or Parsonage in the Parish of Ouseburn, within a quarter of a mile of Kirley Hall. In December of that year a son was born which survived only three days. Early in 1811 his "Christian Researches in Asia" was published. It ran through four editions in one year. In February of that year Dr. Buchanan had an apoplectic seizure while conducting family prayer, right hemiplegia partial in extent, but attended with aphasia from which he soon recovered more or less perfectly. Upon his recovery he proposed a voyage to Palestine with the view of establishing presses in Jerusalem or Aleppo for the Hebrew, Syriac and Arabic languages. However, in December 1811, he had a second paralytic stroke with complete hemiplegia, but was able to resume correspondence in January 1812. Early in 1813 (February) another son was born which lived, but half an hour, and on the 23rd March, Mrs. Buchanan died. In October Dr. Buchanan left Kirley Hall for Cambridge where he remained till 17th January 1814, finally taking up his residence at Broxbourne in Hertfordshire. At this place the printer lived who had undertaken to print the edition of the Syriac New Testament for the use of the Syrian Christians in the Coast of Malabar. He returned to Kirley Hall early in January 1815, but on the 19th returned once more to Broxbourne. At this time his early friend and benefactor Mr. Henry Thornton died, and soon after his return to Broxbourne on the 25th January, after attending the funeral, he had a third seizure and died on the 12th February. He was buried at Little Ouseburn in Yorkshire near his second wife. In his will he describes himself as Claudius Buchanan of Little Ouseburn. Copies of the monumental inscriptions on his tomb and that of his second wife are to be found at the end of Volume II of the Memoirs. (Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Revd. Claudius Buchanan, D.D., late Vice-Provost of the College of Fort William in Bengal by the Revd. Hugh Pearson, M.A., of St. John's College, Oxford. Third edition, London, 1819).

The portrait is from the frontispiece to Pearson's Life and Writings of the Revd. Claudius Buchanan, D.D.

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#### CHARLES ROTHMAN.

The first Secretary to the Council of the College of Fort William was appointed immediately on the institution of the College and held the office till his death on the 23rd September 1805. In 1798 his name appears as being gazetted to a Lieutenant-Colonelcy in the Calcutta Militia (*Calcutta Gazette*, 26th November 1798). He is buried in the North Park Street Burial Ground where the inscription on his tomb states that he was 48 years of age.

He was succeeded in the Secretaryship by Dr. William Hunter.

Charles Rothman was married ( 1790) to Henrietta . . . . . who died in 1796. She is buried in the South Park Street Burial Ground and from the inscription we learn that she was born at Caermarthen the 21st September 1770, and died at Calcutta the 25th December 1796.

In the North Park Street Burial Ground is buried one George Rothman who died on the 13th September 1813, aged 21 years. This would give 1792 as the date of his birth. This George Rothman was presumably the son of Charles and Henrietta Rothman.

Charles Rothman's position in the College was different to that of the secretaries who succeeded him. He does not appear to have had any knowledge of oriental languages and certainly never took any part in teaching them in the College.

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#### DR. WILLIAM HUNTER.

Appointed Secretary to the College of Fort William, 1st November 1805. William Hunter was a Scotchman. He was born at Montrose in 1755 and was educated at the Marischal College and University of Aberdeen where he took the Degree of Master of Arts in 1777. He was apprenticed to a surgeon for four years. Then he was Medical Officer on board an East Indiaman, and arrived in India in 1781. On his arrival he was transferred to the Government service. In July 1782 Hunter was Medical Officer of the "Success" galley which was employed in conveying reinforcements from Bengal to the Carnatic. The "Success" was wrecked on the Pegu Coast and the time spent there was turned to account by Hunter in writing a work on Pegu.

Hunter was gazetted as Assistant Surgeon on the 6th April 1783, and as Surgeon on the 21st October 1794. Being appointed Residency Surgeon



at Agra, Mr. Hunter contributed to the Asiatic Researches a Narrative of a journey from Agra to Oujein which contains useful topographical and botanical notes, (As. Res. Vol. VI, pp. 7-76).

From 1794 to 1806, Hunter held the appointment of Surgeon to the Marines. He was twice Secretary to the Asiatic Society of Bengal from May 1798 to March 1802, and again from April 1804 to April 1811. In 1801 he became an Examiner in Hindustani in the College of Fort William and in 1805 was appointed Assistant Professor of Hindustani. On the 1st November 1805, Hunter was appointed Secretary and Librarian to the College in succession to Mr. Charles Rothman who had died on the 23rd of September. He held this office till 1811 when he resigned upon being appointed Superintending Surgeon of Java. In 1808 when Hunter was Surgeon to the General Hospital he received the Degree of Doctor of Medicine from a Scottish University most probably Aberdeen. In 1812 he died at Batavia at the age of 57.

While in India, Dr. Hunter had suffered a good deal from "Asthma" for which he had to take short periods of leave on medical certificate. Dr. Hunter was a Foreign Member of the Medical Society of London, Honorary Member of the Paris Academical Society of Science.

His chief work was his Dictionary of Hindustani and English published in 1808 of which particulars will be found in the text. Hunter also collected and translated a large number of proverbs in Hindustani and Persian, a work which he handed on to Captain Roebuck on being transferred to Java. On Captain Roebuck's death in 1819 the work was taken up by H. H. Wilson and the collection was finally published under Wilson's editorship in 1824. Hunter also published an Essay on the Diseases incident to Indian Seamen or Lascars on long voyages (Calcutta 1804), and a translation of the New Testament into the Hindustani Language (Calcutta 1805). Besides this Dr. Hunter published papers in the Asiatic Researches of which the following is a list :—

On the plant Morinda and its uses, (Vol. IV, p. 35).

Astronomical Observations made in the upper parts of Hindustan and on a journey thence to Oujein, (Vol. IV, p. 141).

Astronomical Observations, (Vol. IV, p. 359).

Some account of the Astronomical Labours of Jaya Sinha, Rajah of Ambhere or Jayanagar, (Vol. V, p. 177).

Astronomical observations made in the Upper Provinces of Hindustan, (Vol. V, p. 413).

Narrative of a journey from Agra to Oujein, (Vol. VI, p. 7).

## DR. JOHN LEYDEN.

Assistant Secretary, 28th September 1807. John Leyden was the son of John Leyden and Isabella Scott. He was born 8th September 1775 at Denholm in the parish of Cavers, Roseburghshire. He studied medicine and languages at the Edinburgh University from 1790 to 1797. In 1798, he was licensed as a preacher, but was never great in the ministry and spent the next fifteen years in literary work in the course of which he met Sir Walter Scott and contributed to the early volumes of *Border Minstrelsy*. He was undoubtedly possessed of considerable poetic talent. In 1802, he turned his medical education to account by accepting the offer of an Assistant-surgeoncy in Madras and before proceeding thither, took the Degree of M. D. at St. Andrews. He reached Madras on the 19th August 1803, and was at once appointed to the Madras General Hospital. In 1804, he was appointed Surgeon-naturalist to accompany the commissioners over the Mysore Provinces recently taken from Tipoo Sultan and in the course of that duty prepared a report on the geology, diseases, crops and languages of the districts through which the Commissioners passed. At Seringapatam he was struck down by fever and received much kindness from Sir John Malcolm. His convalescence was occupied in the study of Sanskrit and translating from Persian and Hindustani. After his recovery he travelled for his health through Malabar to Cochin and Quilon from May to September 1805, finally reaching Penang where he wrote a Dissertation on the Languages and Literature of the Indo-Chinese Nations. (See *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. X, p. 158). He returned to India in 1806 and settled at Calcutta. Here he became a Member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and was appointed Professor of Hindustani at the College of Fort William. Not long after this Leyden was appointed to the judgeship of the 24-Parganas and in 1809 he was appointed Commissioner of the Court of Requests. At the end of 1810 he was made Assay-Master of the Calcutta Mint. In 1811 Leyden accompanied Lord Minto to Java as Malay Interpreter and died there of fever on the 28th August 1811 after three days' illness. A monument to his memory was erected at Denholm in 1861.

(The above is abridged from the *Dictionary of National Biography*).

## LIEUTENANT THOMAS ROEBUCK.

Lieutenant Thomas Roebuck acted at various times as Assistant Secretary to the College of Fort William, between the years 1811 and 1817. The following brief notice is mainly abridged from the Memoir of Captain Thomas Roebuck written by his friend Horace Hayman Wilson which will be found in Wilson's edition of the Proverbs originally collected by

Dr. William Hunter, partially translated and arranged by Roebuck and finally edited by Wilson and published in 1824 at Calcutta.

Captain Roebuck was the grandson of Dr. John Roebuck the inventor. He was born in Linlithgowshire in 1781, and was educated first at Alloa and subsequently at the Edinburgh High School. In 1801, he left England for India where his uncle Benjamin Roebuck had procured him an appointment in the Madras Service. He first joined the 17th Native Infantry as a Cadet and soon learned Hindustani which he turned to useful purpose in the campaign under General Wellesley. He was afterwards appointed Fort Adjutant and Acting Town Major at Vellore. In 1805 he was compelled to return to England on account of his ill-health and remained in England three years. During this period he assisted Dr. John Gilchrist in the preparation of certain of his Hindustani works. In 1810, Lieutenant Roebuck returned to India and in March 1811 was appointed to the College of Fort William in Calcutta. He died on the 8th December 1819, and is buried in the South Park Street Burial Ground, Calcutta. The inscription on his tomb states "Born December 1784, deceased December 1819". According to this he was thirty five at the time of his death which is correct, so that the date of his birth given in Wilson's Memoir is incorrect and is obviously a misprint. (See page XXIX, *op. cit.*)

Roebuck was married in 1813, and left a widow who married again. It does not appear that he left any children. Roebuck was a diligent worker and from 1805 to the end of his life did much for the cause of oriental studies in India. After assisting Dr. Gilchrist with his British Indian Monitor and English and Hindustani Dictionary he engaged in the preparation of class books for the College of Fort William in the publication of the *Burhar-i-Qati*, the compilation and translation of proverbs in various oriental languages and in the *Annals of the College* from 1803 to 1818 which latter work was published in 1819. At the time of his death he was engaged in preparing a fuller edition of Hunter's Dictionary of Hindustani. Part of the materials for this undertaking still remains in the Library of the Board of Examiners in three large folio volumes manuscripts. (See also *Dictionary of National Biography*.)

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#### CAPTAIN DAVID RUDELL.

Appointed Secretary to the College of Fort William, 11th March 1824. Captain David Ruddell died on the 16th December 1835, when on his return from Persia bearing despatches from the British Ambassador for the Government of India. From his long connexion with the College of Fort William few persons were better known and few were more generally esteemed in India than Captain Ruddell. It was understood that he had a

promise of a confidential employment on the Governor-General's Staff both from Lord Heytesbury and Lord Auckland.

The following inscription to his memory is erected at Shiraz :—

“ Sacred to the memory of Captain David Ruddell of the Bengal Army who while proceeding from Tehran to Calcutta, with despatches from his Britannic Majesty's Ambassador at the Court of Persia, was cut off by fever in this city on the 16th December 1835 in the 45th year of his age, deeply lamented by all who knew his eminent and varied acquirements and his many public and private worths.”

The above is copied from the *Bengal Obituary*, (page 395).

Captain Ruddell on his first appointment to the officiating Secretaryship of the College on the 8th October 1821 belonged to the 1st European Regiment. He was appointed permanently on the 11th March 1824, and held the appointment till the 1st February 1832, when he was succeeded by Lieutenant Todd (21st Native Infantry) who, however, only held the post three months dying on the 20th March at the age of 28, (*Government Gazette*, 22nd March 1832).

Captain Ruddell's resignation is dated from H. C. S. *Minerva* at sea, on the 11th January 1832 on his departure to England on leave.

#### WILLIAM CAREY.

The Reverend William Carey, D.D., father of Indian Missions, rendered such invaluable services to the College of Fort William for many years, both as translator and as examiner to the College, that a short biography of him naturally finds a place in this History. Full particulars of his life have been published in various works of which the fullest and best is the *Life of William Carey, D.D.*, by George Smith, L.L.D., C.I.E., London (1885).

Carey was a Northamptonshire man, the son of a weaver Edmund Carey and was born at Panlerspury in that country on the 17th August 1761. In early life he was apprenticed to a shoemaker and it was in the course of apprenticeship that he learned the first rudiments of the Greek, Latin and Hebrew tongues. Fortunately for India the cobbler did not stick to his last, but became a minister of the Baptist Community and being possessed of strong Missionary instincts, eventually proceeded to India where he landed in November 1793. From this time onward Carey devoted himself to mission work. As a preliminary he devoted himself to the study of Bengali and Sanskrit, and was very soon to find a work in the sphere of languages, as on the foundation of the Fort William College, he was appointed Professor of Bengali and Sanskrit. His labours as a missionary and the enthusiasm with which he set to work to print the Gospels in Bengali and other dialects are

well known. In the course of some years Carey translated the New Testament into no less than 26 languages and that in spite of early poverty and much domestic anxiety.

William Carey was thrice married, firstly to Dorothy Placket whom he married at Hackleton about 1780. By her he had six children, Ann who died in infancy, Felix born 1786, William, Peter born 1789, died in infancy, Jabez, born 1793 and Jonathan.

Dorothy Carey died on the 8th December 1807, and is buried at Serampore in the Mission Burial Ground. William Carey married secondly in 1808 (May 9th) Charlotte Emelia the Lady Rhumohr, a Danish Lady of wealth, who died, leaving no issue, on the 30th May 1821. William Carey married lastly July 22nd 1822, at the Cathedral (now St. John's Church), Grace Hughes, a widow who survived him having had no issue by him. She died on the 22nd July 1835.

William Carey died at Serampore on the 9th June 1834. He lies buried at Serampore by the side of his second wife as directed in his will. (These points, I have recorded from personal observation—G. R.). In the Serampore Mission Burial Ground (N.-W. Corner) is an enclosure containing the graves of William Carey, the three wives above mentioned and Felix Carey his eldest son. Side by side of William Carey's grave to the eastward of it (the graves lie North and South) is a grave bearing the following inscription "In memory of Mary wife Revd. William Carey of Calcutta; died September."

William Carey was for twenty eight years a Member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and contributed many papers to its journal. In 1807 he was granted the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Divinity by the Brown University, U. S. A. He was also a Fellow of the Linnean Society, a Fellow of the Geological Society and a corresponding Member of the Horticultural Society of London.

Carey was instrumental in bringing about the final abolition of the practice of "Suttee" by Lord William Bentinck, and when in December 1829, the Government order was published forbidding the further performance of the rite, Carey sat the whole of one Sunday translating the regulation into the vernacular to avoid delay in its promulgation "knowing" as he himself said "that every day's delay might bring death to one or more unhappy widows."

William Carey, missionary, botanist and orientalist, will always take rank as one of the giants of the intellectual world, none but those who have since have worked in India even under present conditions can realise the undaunted perseverance and superhuman energy he must have possessed to achieve such astounding results in so wide a field in face of the all the

obstacles it was his destiny to encounter and overcome. "Expect great things from God and attempt great things for God," was his watchword and who can doubt that it was his perfect trust in the Almighty Father that was the secret of his splendid success. The words which by his express wish were inscribed on the memorial which marks the resting place of his second wife are characteristic of the man.

"A wretched poor and helpless worm on thy kind arms, I fall." (Other sources of information which may interest those who desire to know more about Carey's life and work are *Memoirs of William Carey* by his nephew Eustace Carey, *Men whom India has known* by Higginbotham (Madras 1874), *Oriental Christian Biography* by W. H. Carey and the article in the *Dictionary of National Biography*).

#### WILLIAM NASSAU LEES.

Was appointed Secretary to the College of Fort William on the 5th March 1853. He was born on the 26th February 1825, being the fourth son of Sir Harcourt Lees, Baronet. He was educated at North Grove and Trinity College, Dublin where he took no Degree as far as can be ascertained. In 1846 he was given a Bengal Cadetship and on arrival in India was posted as Ensign to the 42nd Native Infantry in March 1846. In March 1853 while still an Ensign he was appointed Secretary to the College of Fort William. In 1857 he was appointed Principal of the Calcutta Madrasa, a post which he held in conjunction with the College appointment. He was also Persian Translator to Government and joint-proprietor of the *Times of India* newspaper.

In 1857, the University of Dublin conferred on him the Degree of L.L. D., *honoris causa*, and the same year he received the Degree of Ph. D. from the University of Berlin. He was elected a Member of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1872, and after his retirement lived in London where he died in March 1889 at the age of 64. Nassau Lees was an indefatigable worker and during the period of his seventeen years' tenancy of the Secretaryship edited many useful Persian and Arabic texts. A complete list of his works will be found in the *Dictionary of National Biography* where his life is given.

*N.B.*—Henry Sullivan Jarrett succeeded W. N. Lees.

#### GEORGE SPIERS ALEXANDER RANKING.

Secretary to the Board of Examiners, June 1894, eighth son of Robert Ranking, F.L.S., of Hastings Sussex and Isabella Eliza Hannah Spiers (or Speirs as it was sometimes spelt Speirs). Her father Archibald was a cadet

of Speirs of Elderslic Co Reupew) was born at Hastings Sussex on the 7th. January 1852.. He was educated at Aldenham Grammar School, Watford, Hertfordshire from Easter 1865 to October 1869 when he proceeded to the University of Cambridge, obtaining an exhibition of £40 a year from Aldenham and an open scholarship in Classics of £60 a year at St. Catharine's College. After studying classics for a year he took to the study of Natural Science in view of his intention to take his Degree in Medicine and in the Natural Sciences Tripos of 1874, was bracketed top of the second class with W. H. Gaskell and graduated as Bachelor of Arts. In 1875, he took the Degree of Bachelor of Medicine and in February of the same year passed second for the open examination for the Indian Medical Service. After the four months's course at Netley, Ranking passed out first on the list obtaining the Herbert Prize in August 1875. In the following October he sailed for Bengal in medical charge of the Indian Government Ship *Tenasserim* and arrived at Bombay on November 4th and Calcutta 16th November. Here he remained a few months in the Fort in medical charge of the 37th Native Infantry with which Regiment he proceeded to Bareilly. He had commenced the study of Hindustani in 1874 before appearing for the examination for the Indian Medical Service, and took that language up as one of his extra subjects. Ranking returned to England on account of his health in 1879, and while there took the Degree of Doctor of Medicine at the University of Cambridge, selecting "the Pathology and Etiology of Whooping Cough" as the subject of his thesis for the Doctorate. Returning to India he devoted much of his spare time to the study of the oriental languages while holding various military and civil appointments in the Medical Service. After taking Degrees of Honour with Gold Medals in Arabic, Persian, Hindi and Urdu, Dr. Ranking was appointed Secretary to the Board of Examiners in 1894 on the retirement of Colonel Jarrett. Dr. Ranking, during his tenure of the office, translated and edited the *Muntakhabut Tawarikh* of Badaoni and various text-books for the use of candidates for the examinations in native languages, as well as publishing a Hindustani Grammar and an Annotated Glossary to the *Bagh-o-Bahar*.

Retired in 1905, after completion of 30 years' service and having been elected Lecturer in Persian at the University of Oxford, entered upon the duties of that post in October of the same year.

Shortly before leaving India he published an English-Hindustani Dictionary for which he had collected materials during twenty five years of his service in India.

He still (1910) holds the Oxford appointment and is a Member of Balliol College.

6th November 1910.

G. R.

In August 1914, when the war with Germany broke out Lt.-Colonel Ranking was appointed Officer Commanding the 3rd Southern General Hospital at Oxford for the establishment of which he had previously drawn up a scheme by order of the Director-General, Army Medical Service.

In October 1920, Lt.-Colonel Ranking was appointed Post-Graduate Lecturer in the History of Persian Literature, and Iranian Philology to the University of Calcutta and commenced his duties in that office on 16th November 1920.

*[To be continued.]*

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# The Three Oldest Church Registers of Serampur.

29th July, 1769—1843.

BY THE REV. H. HOSTEN, S. J.

**A**S the present Catholic Church at Serampur was built in 1783, an inscription on the façade testifying to the fact, it was generally supposed that there was no Church there before that date. Such, however, is not the case. In 1913, I discovered among the Registers of the Murghihata Cathedral, Portuguese Church Street, Calcutta, a Baptism Register for Serampur covering the period 1769—1805. It is the oldest Register we have for Serampur. The next oldest one is one of Marriages from the 8th Nov. 1805, to the 7th Febr. 1842. As for Burial Registers, there exists nothing before 1837. The earliest Marriage and Burial Registers must have been lost therefore; for it is evident that, if Baptisms were registered in 1769, Marriages and Burials must also have been. On the 30th Sept. 1897, the Vicar of Serampur wrote, to somebody applying for a certificate, that the records of births, marriages and deaths of Serampur from the beginning up to 1842 were burnt. The information was wrong.

## CHAPTER I.—DESCRIPTION OF THE REGISTERS.

### VOLUME I.—*Baptisms.*

*Description.*—On the recto of the title-page: “Este Livro hé dos Baptimos que se haõ de fazer / nesta Igreja de Nossa / Senhora da Madre de / D<sup>s</sup> de Serampur, prin-/cipiado no mes de Agosto / de 1769. /

“Esta numerado todo este livro excepto / a primeira e a ultima folha, pello o Pe Fr. / Caetano de S. Joseph.”

*(Translation)* :—This book is that of the Baptisms to be performed in this Church of Our Lady of the Mother of God [*sic*] at Serampur, begun in the month of August of 1769. The whole of this book, except the first and the last leaf, was numbered by Father Fr[ei] Caetano de S. Joseph.”

Foll. 129, numbered on rectos only. Fols. 1 and 7 are missing; fols. 116 and 117 are repeated; fol. 25<sup>v</sup> is blank; foll. 106<sup>r</sup>-117<sup>v</sup> have been bound up between foll. 20<sup>v</sup> and 21<sup>r</sup>.—(28.5 × 18.5 cm.) All the entries are in Portuguese.

*Remarks.*—The first entry at fol. 2r is of the 29th July 1769; the last at fol. 129 should be that of the 3rd July 1805, but in 1813 an itinerant missionary, probably not finding at hand the proper volume of the registers, inserted a baptism of 19th April 1813.

At fol. 25r is inserted on 8th April 1776, the marriage, celebrated before Father Michael Ferreira, of J. Antonio Coffre Dupré, son of Joaô Coffre Dupré and Maria Francisca Rousseaux (?), a bachelor, with Anna Dupré, widow of Carlos Dupré, all inhabitants of "Sirampur." The witnesses who signed were: Hellen Hiernoe (?), and Ann Fix (on the left), and A. (?) Hiernoe (?) and J. L. Fix on the right.

And Father Frei Manoel do Cenaculo, Vicar of Serampur from 1794 to 1800, noted (no date): "This entry is in the marriage register: it was put here, because there was no book then.—*Cenaculo*."

Some other entries have been made out of their place. On Sept. 5, 1792, Frei Joaquim de S. Rita inserts 4 baptisms of July 1790, not indicating the place or the day when they were performed. I entered them under July 1790. At fol. 47r, 2 baptisms of the 12th Oct. 1798 are inserted by Fr. Manoel do Cenaculo across faded entries of 1783.

We copy one or two of the entries of baptism.

Fol. 31v: "Aos 30 de Outubro [1778] as onze horas do dia Bautizey a Willem, filho natural de Capitaô Eduardo Mechantos (?): foraô Padrinhos os que vaô assignados a baixo, em fê do que fiz este assento aonde me assigney era ut supra anno de 1778.

*Jose Caet° de Noronha.*

Ann Fix. A. Ehlers.

Juliana Bie.

Ur(s)ula Bilefelt.

Lefranc.

W. Barington (?).

D. Ehlers.

Billefelt.

J. Deaver.

Johan Pingle.

(*Translation*).—"On the 30th of October [1778] at 11 o'clock of the day, I baptised Willem, illegitimate son of Captain Eduardo Mechantos (?): were godparents those who have signed below. In truth whereof I made this entry where I signed; year as above, year 1778."

Juliana Bie must have been the wife of the Danish Governor. Her presence explains, perhaps, how Governor Bie subscribed Rs. 600 towards the building of the Catholic Church of Serampur in 1783.

Fol. 20r: "Aos 29 de Junho de 1774, pus os Santos Oleos a Maria da idade de vinte e três dias, foy Baptizada em caza in articulo mortis, aos nove do dito mês, e nasceo aos ceis do dito, filha de Francisco de St. Verguet e de Joanna de St. Verguet: foraô Padrinhos Jorze de St. Verguet, e Thareza de

St. Verguet. Em fe do que se fes este a sinto [*sic*] no mesmo dia mès e era ut supra.

*Fr. José das Onze Mill Virgens, Vig. ro.*

George St. Verguet.

Sinal de + Thareza de St. Verguet."

(*Translation*).—"On the 29th of June 1774, I applied the Holy Oils to Maria, aged 23 days, who, born on the 6th of the said month, was baptised at home in danger of death. Daughter of Francisco de St. Verguet and of Joanna de St. Verguet. The godparents were: Jorze [George] de St. Verguet and Thareza [Thereza] de St. Verguet. In truth whereof I made this entry on the same day, month, and year as above.

*Fr. José das Onze Mil Virgens, Vig. ro.*

George St. Verguet.

Mark of + Thareza de St. Verguet."

In the case of this baptism the ceremonies were supplied in Church.

The priests always sign the entries, the godparents or witnesses only on rare and solemn occasions. If the priests take liberties with the names of the baptised and their parents, the godparents and witnesses who sign take liberties with their own, and some of them cannot sign at all. A cross is all they can manage. Education was at a low ebb in Bengal.

On foll. 33r there are 3 baptisms between 9th May and 6th June 1779 of persons from Chanoco; the godparents and the baptised are from Chanoco on 11th March 1780; on 7th April 1778, the child and godparents are from 'the camp'; on 11th November 1780, three children are baptised, whose parents are in the 'English Camp.'

Where was Chanoco? Fr. Francisco de S. Maria tells us so on the 20th January 1785: "I remark that these newly baptised live actually in a plain (*campo*), which is...in front of this city. It is called Berakpur or Chenoco." Barrackpur, Xenoco, Chanoco, the English Camp, and Chanock, or the Chanak, Achanak of the natives, were all the same therefore. But Chanock has nothing to do with Job Charnock. Cf. H. Yule, *Diaries of W. Hedges*, II. 99n. 1.

In 1796, Frei Manoel do Cenaculo adds once to his name: Eremita Augustiniano, *i.e.*, 'Hermit of St. Augustine.'

The returns of baptism were sent to Goa (to the Provincial of the Augustinians), on different dates: up to 9th Nov. 1770; up to 8th Nov. 1773; up to 26th Nov. 1785; up to 25th Nov. 1794 inclusively; up to 20th Dec. 1795 *do.*; up to 28th Dec. 1796 *do.*; up to 31st Dec. 1797 *do.*; up to 25th Dec. 1798 *do.*; up to 20th Sept. 1799 *do.*; up to 5th May 1801. Under Frei Manoel do Cenaculo the returns were sent quite regularly, we see.

Only some 20 pages of the register are difficult to read. The names of the Priests are easy to make out; but, in the entries, some of the family-names or of the signatures would be hard to decipher.

Within 35½ years our baptism register yields the names of 34 priests. The average duration of each one's tenure of office would be only a year and a few days. This is surprisingly small. We notice that some merely pass through the place; at times it would seem that there was no resident priest, but that the place was visited on Sundays from Calcutta. Between 23rd Oct. 1783, and 25th April 1784, during which period I find the names of three priests, I note on what days of the week the baptisms were performed, and I find:—

23rd Oct. 1783	Thursday.	4th Jan. 1784	Sunday.
8th Nov. „	Saturday.	18th Jan. „	Sunday.
9th Nov. „	Sunday.	11th Apr. „	Sunday.
14th Dec. „	Sunday.	25th Apr. „	Sunday.

I do the same for the period 8th Sept. 1793—4th May 1794, during which period I find the names of four priests. The baptisms were performed on:—

8th Sept. 1793,	Sunday.	5th Jan. 1794	Sunday.
21st „ „	Saturday.	11th „ „	Saturday.
22nd „ „	Sunday.	2nd Febr. „	Sunday.
29th „ „	Sunday.	9th „ „	Sunday.
1st Dec. „	Sunday.	16th „ „	Sunday.
23rd „ „	Monday.	19th March „	Wednesday. <i>Feast</i> <i>of St. Joseph</i>
31st „ „	Tuesday.	21st April „	Monday.
		4th May „	Sunday.

For these periods of frequent changes of personnel, we should conclude that, if the Priests resided at Serampur, Sunday was the chief day selected by parents for having their children baptised, or, what is more likely, that the Priests came from elsewhere, say from Calcutta, on Saturdays, and left on Mondays, the parents taking occasion of their short stay to bring their children to baptism. The latter explanation will appear more plausible if the first column below represents the dates when baptisms were performed at Serampur by certain Priests, and the second column represents baptisms (B), or marriages (M), performed by the same Priests at Murghihata, Calcutta, during the same months.

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Frei Manoel da Piedade—

1793 Sept. 29th.	B. M.,	Calcutta, Sept. 1793.
Dec. 1st, 23rd, 31st.	M.	„ Dec. „

1794 Jan. 5th, 11th.	B. M.	Calcutta, Jan. 1794.
Apr. 21st.	B.	„ Apr. „
May 4th.	B. M.	„ May „
Frei Joaquim da Trindade—		
1793 Sept. 8th ?, 21st, 22nd.	B. M.	„ Sept. 1793.
1794 Feb. 16th.	B. M.	„ Feb. 1794.
March 19th.	B. M.	„ Mar. „
Frei Joze das Dore.		
1794 Feb. 2nd.	Not in the Murghihata Registers in Feb. 1794.	
Frei Joaquim de S. Rita—		
1794 Feb. 9th.	Ditto.	

In the case of the first two Priests, their work lay in Calcutta before and after the period considered; hence, their frequent shiftings from Calcutta to Serampur show clearly that Serampur, the smaller place, had no resident Priest at the time. A comparison with the precise dates of their ministrations in the Murghihata Registers would prove our point more conclusively; but, as these Registers are not now at our disposal, it will suffice to point out still that Frei Joaq. de S. Rita had at Serampur as many as 5 baptisms on 9th Feb. 1794, a Sunday.

*Statistics.*—If we compare the decades 1770—79, 1780—89, 1790—99, and the quinquennium 1800—04, we find the following totals of baptisms; 279; 328; 387 and 195. This increase does not necessarily mean an increase of the Catholic population of Serampur itself; it may be due to a variety of causes, such as increased activity on the part of the incumbents, greater permanence in their appointments and regularity of residence, or an increase of population within the radius of their jurisdiction, *e. g.*, at Barrackpur. The large number of baptisms in 1770, *i. e.*, 90, is explained by the great famine of that year.

#### VOLUME 2.—*Marriages.*

The second oldest volume is a folio one of marriages, 36 pages (foll.?) of which are filled. It begins on 8th Nov. 1805, and closes on 7th Feb. 1842. We obtain from it 20 names of priests. The baptism registers for the same period, had they been preserved, would have yielded a much larger number of names.

#### VOLUME 3.—*Baptisms* (Apr. 1837—Oct. 1843)

#### *and Burials* (May 1837—Sept. 1843).

These entries on a dozen separate sheets were found by me at Murghihata. There is evidence that at least part of them was recopied in permanent

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registers. As these permanent registers have perished, there is some consolation in having discovered part of the originals.

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## CHAPTER II.—CONTENTS OF THE REGISTERS.

In the following tables the first line of figures under each year represents the serial number of the Priests and refers the reader to the identical serial number in the list of Priests in Chapter III, *e.g.*, No. 1 under July, Aug. and Sept. 1769 of Vol. I, means that No. 1 of the list of priests in Chapter III, or Frei Caetano de S. Joseph, was baptising in July, Aug. and Sept. 1769.

The second line of figures, in which the type is smaller, represents the work done, the number of Baptisms, Burials or Marriages each month, according to the nature of the register : thus, in July, Aug. and Sept. 1769, Frei Caetano de S. Joseph baptised 1, 2, and 3 persons respectively.

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*Vol. 1.—Baptisms (29th July, 1769—19th Apr. 1813).*

[B=Baptism Register; M=Marriage Register; Bl=Burial Register.]

Year.	MONTHS.												Total.
	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May.	June.	July.	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	
1769							1	1	1	2	2	2	
B.							1	2	3	1	3	3	13
1770	3	3	3	3, 4	3	1, 3	1, 3	1	1	1	1		
B.	2	3	3	16	10	27	6	7	4	5	2		90
1771	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	1	1	1	1	
B.	1	2	2	2	2	2		3	2	1	5	1	23
1772					1			5	5, 6	6	6	6	
B.					2			1	3	2	5	2	15
1773	6	6			6		6	6	6	6	6	6	
B.	1	5			3		1	1	1	2	2	2	18
1774	6	6	6	6	6	6	1		1	1		7	
B.	1	2	2	2	2	4	2		3	1		2	21
1775	8		1	1	1	1	1	1	1, 8		1	1	
B.	1		2	2	1	5	2	1	2		2	3	21
1776	1	9		10		11	11	11	11	11	11	11	
B.	1	1		2		2	1	1	1	1	1	1	12
1777		11	12	12					13	13	13		
B.		1	2	3					2	5	1		14
1778	13	13	13	13	13		13	13	13	13	13	14	
B.	3	4	3	4	2		2	2	1	1	2	1	24
1779	14	14	15	15	15	15	15	15		15	15	15, 16	
B.	1	1	1	1	4	3	3	3		5	3	11	41
1780	16	16	16	16	16	17		5	5	5, 18	5	5	
B.	6	1	2	3	1	1		1	3	2	5	3	27
1781		12		5	12	12	12		5, 14	5		5, 19	
B.		1		1	1	1	3		2	1		9	19
1782	5	5	20		20	20	20		20	20	20	20	
B.	6	1	2		2	1	6		1	1	5	10	29
1783	17	17		17	17	17	17			21	17, 21		
B.	3	1		1	5	3	1			2	2	4	19

Year.	MONTHS.												Total.
	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May.	June.	July.	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	
1784	10			10	10, 13, 20	13	13	10, 13	20		20	20	
B.	2			2	4	2	1	8	2		8	2	21
1785	20	20	20	20	20	20		13, 20	20	20	20		
B.	12	8	1	4	8	2		2	2	6	5		40
1786	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	
B.	6	4	4	7	6	1	8	2	1	1	8	2	40
1787	20	20		20, 22	22	22	22	22	22, 23	23	23	23	
B.	1	2		8	7	4	4	2	2	6	1	7	44
1788	23	23	23		23	23	23, 24	24	24	24	24	24	
B.	7	8	8		8	5	2	1	8	1	4	6	48
1789	24	24	24	24	24	24	24	24	24	24	24	24	
B.	6	1	8	9	1	5	2	1	4	4	2	4	46
1790	24, 25		24	24, 25	25	25	25	25	25			25	
B.	6		6	4	8	4	8	5	2			5	36
1791	25	25	25	25		24	24		24	24	24		
B.	1	1	2	8		5	1		2	4	1		20
1792	24	24	24	24	24	24	24		24	24	24	24	
H.	1	1	1	2	6	1	4		8	5	1	9	34
1793	24	24	23, 24	23	23	26	26	22	22, 26			22	
B.	9	4	10	8	6	8	8	1	5			8	47
1794	22	24, 26, 27	26	22	22	28	28	28	28	28	28	28	
B.	2	8	1	2	1	1	2	4	4	1	4	2	32
1795	28	28	28	28	28	28	28	28	28	28	28	28	
B.	5	1	8	8	5	2	8	2	7	2	8	2	40
1796	28		28	28	28	28	28	28	28	28	28	28	
B.	6		1	5	6	1	2	1	8	9	2	4	44
1797	28	28	28	28	28	28	28	28	28	28	28	28	
B.	8	2	4	1	8	8	2	1	8	8	4	1	40
1798	28	19, 28	28	19, 28	28	28	28	28		28, 29	28	28	
B.	6	5	1	4	4	4	8	2		4	8	5	47
1799	28	28	28	28	28	28	28	28	28	28	28	28	
B.	8	2	1	2	1	2	11	8	4	2	1	5	47



Year.	MONTHS.												Total.
	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May.	June.	July.	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	
1800	28	28	30	30	30	31	31	31	31	31	31	31	
B.	5	5	3	4	1	5	3	1	7	5	1	4	44
1801	31	31	31	31	31	31	31	31	31	31	31	31	
B.	10	8	7	3	5	5	2	1	4	4	1	1	46
1802	31	31	31		31	31	31	31	29, 31	31	29, 31	31	
B.	5	8	8		2	1	3	3	2	4	5	2	38
1803	31	29, 31	29	29			29	29	29	29	29	29	
B.	7	7	3	4			2	1	2	2	6	4	40
1804		29	29	29	32	32	32	29	33	33	33, 34	33	
B.		4	1	2	3	1	5	3	1	3	3	3	27
1805	33	33		33	33	33	33						
B.	6	8		1	5	1	1						24
1813				35									
B.				1									1

## Vol. 2.—Marriages (8th Nov. 1805—7th Feb. 1842).

Year.	MONTHS.												Total.
	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May.	June.	July.	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	
1805											29	36	
M.											1	1	2
1806				29	29			29	29	29	29		
M.				3	3			3	1	1	1		12
1807	29	29			29								
M.	1	1			1								3
1808		29		29								29	
M.		3		1								1	3
1809		29		29			29	29		29	29		
M.		2		2			1	2		1	1		9
1810	29	29		29			29						
M.	1	2		1			2						6

Year.	MONTHS.												Total.
	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May.	June.	July.	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	
1811	29				37	37							
M.	1				1	1							8
1812	39	39				36			38	38		38	
M.	1	2				1			1	8		1	9
1813	38	38.40			40					38	38		
M.	2	2			1					2	8		10
1814	38				38						40	40	
M.	1				1						1	1	4
1815	40						41	41	41			41	
M.	1						2	8	2			1	
1816									39	39			
M.									1	1			2
1817	42	42		42		42	42			42	42		
M.	1	1		1		1	1			1	8		9
1818	42	43		42, 44						42			
M.	4	4		4						2			14
1819		42			42				42	42		42	
M.		2			2				1	1		1	7
1820	42			42				42		45	45		
M.	1			2				1		1	1		6
1821	45	45			45		45			45	45	45	
M.	2	2			1		1			2	1	1	10
1822		45				45				45			
M.		2				1				1			4
1823		45		45	45	45	45						
M.		1		1	2	1	1						6
1824		45			47	45			45	45		45	
M.		8			1	1			1	1		1	6
1825	45, 47				45		45						
M.	8				1		1						5
1826	48	48		48		48				48			
M.	1	1		1		1				8			7

Year.	MONTHS.												Total.
	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May.	June.	July.	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	
1827	48	48			44						44		
M.	1	1			1						1		4
1828	49, 50	44								44			
M.	2	1								2			5
1829					51	44						44	
M.					1	1						1	3
1830								44		44			
M.								1		1			2
1831		44		45		44	44		44	44			
M.		1		1		1	1		2	1			7
1832												44	
M.												1	1
1833		44											
M.		1											1
1834			52	52									
M.			1	1									2
1835	53	53								53			
M.	1	2								1			4
1836													
M.													
1837		53		54						54			
M.		1		1						1			3
1838											54		
M.											2		2
1839				54	54								
M.				1	1								2
1840													
M.													
1841					55								
M.					1								1
1842	54	54											
M.	2	2											4

*Vol. 3.—Baptisms (April 1837—October 1843), and Burials  
(May 1837—September 1843).*

Year.	MONTHS.												Total.
	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May.	June.	July.	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	
1837				54		54	54		54	54	54, 56	54	
B.				1		2	2		1	1	2	8	12
Bl.					54	54	54	54	54			54	9
1838	54	54				54	54	54				54	
B.	1	8				1	1	1				4	11
Bl.							2		54	54	54	54	7
1839			54	54	54	54			54		54		
B.			1	1	1	1			1		2		7
Bl.	54			54	54		54	54	54	54			12
1840		54	54				54	54	54			54	
B.		2	1				1	1	2			1	8
Bl.	54	54	54	54		54			54	54	54		11
1841				54, 55	55						54	54	
B.				2	1						2	2	7
Bl.			54	54		54		54			54		7
1842	54			57		57							
B.	6			2		1							9
Bl.	54		57	57	57		57	57	57		57		12
1843										57			
B.										1			1
1843	54			54		54	54	54	54				
B.	1			1		1	2	2	1				6

### CHAPTER III.—LIST OF THE PRIESTS AND DURATION OF THEIR OFFICE.

Our Catalogue below exhibits, under the serial numbers of our tables above, the names of the Priests and the months of each year under which they signed the Registers :—

1. *Frei Caetano de S. Joseph*—1769 7-9; '70. 6-11; '71. 1-6, 8-12; '72. 5; '74, 7. 8. 9; '75, 3-9. 11. 12; '76, 1. B.

This means that Frei Caetano de S. Joseph's name appears in B (=Baptism Register) in 1769 from July to Sept. inclusively; in 1770 from June to Nov. inclusively, etc.

2. *Frei Luis de S. Anna*—1769, 10-12, B.
3. *Frei Verissimo da Madre de Deos*—1770, 1-7, B.
4. *Frei Francisco de S. Jose*—1770, 4. B.
5. *Frei Antonio da Lus*—1772, 8, 9; '80, 8-12; '81, 4, 9, 10. 12; '82, 1, 2, B.  
He is "mentioned" as Vicar on 29th June 1780.
6. *Frei Jose das Onse Mil Virgens*—1772, 9-12; '73, 1, 2, 5, 7-12; '74, 1-6, B. He notes that he became Vicar at Serampur on 23rd September 1772.
7. *Br. Clemente Henriques*—1774, 12, B. He may have been a catechist for aught I know.
8. *Frei Vicente das Chagas*—1775, 1, 9, B.
9. *Frei Luis dos Remedios*—1776, 2, B.
10. *Padre Michael Ferreira*—1776, 4; '83, 12; '84, 1, 4, 5, 8, B.
11. *Frei Raphael dos Anjos*—1776, 6-12; '77, 2, B.
12. *(Padre) Antonio Caetano Kois (=Rodrigues)*—1777, 3, 4; '81, 2, 5-7, B.
13. *Padre Jose Caetano de Noronha*—1777, 9-11; '78, 1-5, 7-11; '84, 5-8; '85, 8, B.
14. *Frei Andre de S. Roza*—1778, 12; '79, 1, 2; '81, 9, B.
15. *Frei Manoel do Monte do Carmo*—1779, 3-8, 10-12, B.
16. *Frei Joseph de Santa Rita*—1779, 12; '80 1-5, B. He is probably the Frei Joseph de Santa Rita who is said to have died at Chittagong on 1st Dec. 1789. Cf. [E. S. Wenger's] *List of tombs...*[Calcutta], 1895, No. 963. No inscription over his tomb at Chittagong.
17. *Frei Agostinho de Penha de França*—1780, 6; '83, 1, 2, 4-7, 11, B.
18. *Padre Caetano Francisco de Souza*—1780, 10, B. His name occurs on 28th October 1780.
19. *Frei Jose de Santa Anna*—1781, 12; '98, 2, 4, B.
20. *Frei Francisco de Santa Maria*—1782, 3, 5-7; 9-12; '84, 5, 9, 11, 12; '85, 1-6; 8-11; '86, 1-12; '87, 1, 2, 4, B. The baptisms between 14th Dec. 1783, and 24th Aug. 1784, are by commission of No. 20, Provisor and Vicar da Vara.

21. *Frei Joáo de Santa Anna*, a Dominican—1783, 10, 11, B. He baptises between 23rd Oct. and 9th Nov. 1783 by commission of No. 17. Once after "Santa Anna" he writes "Mauritij." He calls himself a Dominican.
22. *Frei Manoel da Piedade*—1787, 4-9; '93, 8, 9, 12; '94, 1, 4, 5, B.
23. *Frei Manoel de S. Rita*—1787, 9-12; '88, 1-3, 5-7; '93, 3-5, B.
24. *Frei Joaquim de S. Rita*—1788, 7-12; '89, 1-12; '90, 1, 3, 4; '91, 6, 7, 9-11; '92, 1-7, 9-12; '93, 1, 2, 3; '94, 2, B. His first baptism is on 24th July 1788.
25. *Frei Gaspar das Dores*—1790, 1, 4-9, 12; '91, 1-4, B. On 11th Jan. 1790, he baptises by commission of No. 24.
26. *Frei Joaquim da Trindade*—1793, 6, 7, 9; '94, 2, 3, B.
27. *Frei Jose das Dores*—1794, 2, .
28. *Frei Manoel do Cenaculo*—1794, 6-12; '95, 1-12; '96, 1, 3-12; '97, 1-12; '98, 1-8, 10-12; '99, 1-12; 1800, 1, 2, B. He appears last on 21st February 1800.
29. *Frei Antonio de Santa Rita*—1798, 10; 1802, 9, 11; '03, 2-4, 7-12; '04, 2-4, 8, B. From the next volume I add :—1805, 11; '06, 4, 5, 8-11; '07, 1, 2, 5; '08, 2, 4, 12; '09, 2, 4, 7, 8, 10, 11; '10, 1, 2, 4, 7; '11, 1, M. He appears first on 17th Oct. 1798. On 5th Aug. 1804, he calls himself Prior of Bandel.
30. *Frei Salvador do Espirito Santo*—1800, 3-5, B.
31. *Frei Christovão de S. Rosa de Lima*—1800, 6-12; '01, 1-12; '02, 1, 3, 5-12; '03, 1, 2, B.
32. *Frei Joaquim Pinheiro*—1804, 5-7, B. He baptises by commission of the Provincial Commissary, Fr. Manoel do Rozario.
33. *Padre Pedro Paulo Dias*—1804, 9-12; '05, 1, 2, 4-7, B.
34. *Padre José Antonio*—1804, 11, B.
35. *Padre Joaquim Gonçalves Affonso*—1813, 4, B. He appears on 19th April 1813, and calls himself "Priest of the Congregation of the Mission, sent by Father Frei Rafael, Capuchin." Father Rafael de Bene was his full name. Cf. No. 40.
36. *Frei Jose da Piedade*—1805, 12; '12, 6, M.
37. *Frei Manoel de S. Joaquim*—1811, 5, 6, M. On 6th June and 20th July 1811, he calls himself Vigario encomendado. On the different Freis Manoel de S. Joaquim cf. my brochure on *The Registers and Inscriptions of the Church of O. L. of Dolours, Baithakhana, Calcutta*, (1810—1914), pp. 11—13.
38. *Frei Francisco dos Prazeres*—1812, 9, 10, 12; '13, 1, 2, 10, 11; '14, 1, 5, M. On 19th Apr. 1805, he is called Provisor and Vicar da Vara and dispenses from disparity of cult; also on 18th Aug. 1806, 29th

November 1809, and still on 15th April 1818. On 25th Oct. 1812, he grants a dispensation to the Curé of Chandernagar, "Fr. Beinot [Benoît] de Monte Redondo."

39. *Frei Antonio de S. Maria*—1812, 1, 2; '16, 9, 10, M.
40. *Père Raphael de Bene*, a Capuchin—1813, 2, 5; '14, 11, 12; '15, 1, M.  
He was a Capuchin who came for a time from Chandernagar.  
We find him at Serampur from 21st Febr. 1813, to 3rd May 1813;  
from 17th July 1814 to 9th April 1815. See No. 35 above.
41. *Frei Antonio d' Assumpção*—1815, 7, 8, 9, 12, M.
42. *Frei Joaquim das Neves*—1817, 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 10, 11; '18, 1, 4, 10; '19, 2, 5, 9, 10, 12; '20, 1, 4, 8, M.
43. *Père M. Magdinier*, Miss. Apost.—1818, 2, M.—On 1st Febr. 1818, he celebrates 4 marriages.
44. *Frei Antonio de Nossa Senhora da Graça*—1818, 4; '27, 5, 11; '28, 1, 2, 10, '29, 6, 12; '30, 8, 10; '31, 2, 6, 7, 9, 10; '32, 12; 33, 2, M.
45. *Frei Frutuoso de S. Agostinho*.—1820, 10, 11; '21, 1, 2, 5, 7, 10-12; '22, 2, 6, 10; '23, 2, 4-7; '24, 2, 6, 9, 10, 12; '25, 1, 5, 7, M.

"On the 10th of January [1824] there was a display of fire-works at Serampoor, in honour of the patron saint of the Roman Catholic Chapel, which we saw to great advantage from our bholeah, stationed opposite to it on the river. They were, we were told, procured from China by one of the Roman Catholic Portuguese merchants. I thought them very good, and the forms of most of them were new to me. One was a striking imitation of the foliage of a tuft of bamboos, being in fact really a cluster of long and slender bamboos, with fire-works affixed to them, which very beautifully gave the effect of the graceful curve of that elegant plant and even the form of its leaves. There was also another, a sort of Roman candle, which sent up flames, in shape and action, as well as the noise they emitted, not unlike large pigeons, and therefore called Chinese doves. A great crowd of boats and people were on the river to see these fire-works, which are a very popular exhibition with the lower orders." Cf. Reginald Heber, Bishop of Calcutta, *Narrative of a Journey*, 1824-25, London, Murray, 1828, pp. 55-56.

46. *Frei Manoel de S. Theresa*.—On 17th Oct. 1818, he is called Provisor, and gives a dispensation.
47. *Frei Simão da Conceição*.—1824, 5; '25, 1, M.
48. *Frei Antonio da Virgem Maria Teixeira*.—1826, 1, 2, 4, 6, 10; '27, 1, 2, M.
49. Struck out.
50. *Frei Joaquim da Virgem Maria*.—1828, 1, M.
51. *Frei P. Benedito* (=Pierre Benoît), a Capuchin.—1829, 5, M.—He must have come from Chandernagar.

52. *Frei Bartholomeu do Quintal*.—1834, 3, 4, M.  
 53. *Frei J. Correa*.—1835, 1, 2, 10; '37, 2, M.  
 54. *Padre M. L. C. de Mello*.—1837, 4, 10, M; 4, 6, 7, 9-12, B; 5-9, 12, Bl;  
 '38, 1, 2, 6, 7, 8, 12, B, 11, M, 7, 9-12, Bl; '39, 3-6, 9, 11, B, 4, 5, M, 1, 4, 5,  
 7-10 Bl; '40, 2, 3, 7-9, 12, B, 1-4, 6, 9-11, Bl; '41, 4, 11, 12, B; 3, 4, 6, 8,  
 11, Bl; '42, 1, 2, M, 1, B, & Bl.  
 55. *Father Vincent*, Miss. Apost.—1841, 4, 5, B; 5, M.  
 56. *Father Thomas Olliffe* (later Bishop).—1837, 11, B.  
 57. *Father Bernard Rabascall*, a Servite.—1842, 4, 6, B; 3-5, 7-9, 11, Bl;  
 '43, 10, B, 1, 4, 6-9 Bl.

## APPENDIX.—OTHER SERAMPUR REGISTERS.

*Vol. 4*.—Baptisms (10th Apr. 1842—14th Nov. 1869) ... }  
 Marriages (23rd Jan. 1844—31st Aug. 1869) ... } *Serampur*.  
 Burials (15th March 1842—10th Dec. 1872) ... }  
 Confirmations of 18th November 1842, 12th May 1867, 28th  
 September 1869.

It contains also lists of the Catholic inhabitants of Serampur in  
 1845, 1863, 1868, 1869.

*Vol. 5*.—Baptisms (5th Nov. 1870—27th Dec. 1896) ... }  
 Marriages (26th Apr. 1871—7th Febr. 1895) ... } *Serampur*.  
 Burials (25th Jan. 1870—1st Apr. 1897) ... }  
 Confirmations of 8th December 1872, 8th December '73, 8th  
 December '74, 8th December '76, 8th December '78, 8th  
 December '81, 8th December '83.—*Serampur*.

Vols. 4 and 5, as also the previous ones, contain work done at  
 Serampur and Barrackpur.

*Vol. 6*.—Baptisms (1st July 1858—21st July 1872) ... }  
 Marriages (5th Dec. 1858—16th July 1872)... } *Barrackpur*.  
 Burials (19th Apr. 1858—25th Oct. 1873) ... }

This register was entirely recopied by Father Fitzpatrick from  
 an earlier one now gone. It represents the returns of  
 Barrackpur, while it had a resident Chaplain.

*Vol. 7*.—Baptisms (10th May 1873—18th Jan. 1879) ... }  
*Vol. 8*.—Marriages (12th July 1874—2nd Dec. 1876) ... } *Barrackpur*.  
*Vol. 9*.—Burials (7th Jan. 1874—2nd Aug. 1879) ... }

Vols. 7, 8 and 9 contain printed forms.

*Vol. 10*.—Baptisms (18th Jan. 1879—5th June 1902)—*Serampur and  
 Barrackpur*.

Marriages (8th April 1880—9th Febr. 1901)—*Serampur and  
 Barrackpur*.



Burials (1st January 1880—12th November 1897)—*Serampur and Barrackpur.*

Confirmations of 4th July 1880, 24th July '81, 11th June '82, 3rd December '97.

*Vol. 11.*—Baptisms (21st Aug. 1902—)  
Marriages (16th Aug. 1902—)  
Burials (16th Aug. 1902—) } *Serampur and Barrackpur.*

I examined these registers during a short visit to Serampur on 6th May 1915, and my impression of them was that it requires a strong dose of patience and a very level head to make one's way through them whenever an application for a certificate comes in.

*St. Xavier's College, Calcutta, 1915.*

[THE END.]

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# Christian Inscriptions from Serampur.

BY THE REV. H. HOSTEN, S. J.

THE 103 inscriptions we brought back from Serampur represent the work of a day's excursion. It is the joint work of the private Historical Society which we organised during our holidays of September 1914. Present on the occasion were : Masters Maung Kyaw Min of Akyab (14 years), Roger Kirkpatrick (16 years), Walter O'Rourke (14 years), Denis Fitzpatrick (16 years), Helvetius Kelsall (14 years), and myself. Unavoidably absent : Master Eric Ellis (13 years).

The day fixed for the excursion was that of the winding-up of our activities, *vis.*, the last-but-one before the re-opening of classes at the end of September. The Vicar of Baithakhana, whose Church registers we had thoroughly explored for him, defrayed the expenses of our tickets, my trusty acolytes thinking modestly enough of themselves to be satisfied with an "intermediate." And yet what glorious work they had done during three weeks, almost without suspecting it !

The Baithakhana and the Murghihata Church Registers explored (*i.e.*, pp. 5,642+8,578=14,220), pp. 5,000 at least of the press-lists in the Imperial Record Department examined on matters Catholic, inscriptions copied in the Murghihata Church and the Tiretta Cemetery, some 450 inscriptions from the Catholic Cemeteries of Agra prepared for the press : such had been their amusements. And they did not feel any the worse for it.

By this time, my youthful coadjutors had become so thoroughly imbued with the spirit of antiquarian research that a picnic to Serampur without plenty of inscriptions to copy would have been the dullest thing imaginable. They copied all the inscriptions in and about the Catholic Church and all those of the Catholic and Danish Cemeteries. Total : 103. Both cemeteries are contiguous, and boys like to scale walls. The Members of our Historical Society scaled even the gates, only the President maintaining his dignity before the crowd of astonished Serampurians.

I must add that the day was very hot, and there was no shade except in the Danish Cemetery. They did not mind. It was a grand picnic altogether.

I wonder how many languages they had dabbled in during the previous three weeks : French, Latin and Portuguese, even Armenian, Greek and

Hindustani. Here they had Danish now. What they enjoyed most was this open-air exercise of copying inscriptions, and yet it was one long meditation on the shortness of man's allotted span of life, and the truth of "Dust thou art, and into dust thou shalt return."

The following figures show how incompletely the work of copying inscriptions in our graveyards is carried out, when it is done on the "selection principle."

*Number of Inscriptions from Serampur.*

		Asiaticus. 1803.	DeRozario. 1815.	Holmes & Co. 1848.
Catholic Church	...	...	...	...
Catholic Graveyard	...	...	1	1
Danish Graveyard	...	5	8	14
		E. S. Wenger. 1895.	C. R. Wilson. 1896.	Ourselves. 1914.
Catholic Church	...	2	1	9
Catholic Graveyard	...	...	...	32
Danish Graveyard	...	15	15	62

Asiaticus wrote (p. 51): "The Roman Catholic Church at Serampur was built under the auspices of the Barretto family; it cost 14,000 rupees, 600 of which were contributed by the Honourable Colonel Bie, the Danish Governor of that settlement. The Church was consecrated in 1783, I am told, and dedicated to Madre de Deos." *Cf. Eccles., Chronol., and Histor. Sketches respecting Bengal, Calcutta, 1803, Part I.*

There is evidence that the Church of 1783 was preceded by another. One of the Old Serampur Church Registers dates back from 1769. We find also from the Chandernagar Registers that, when the English occupied Chandernagar on 23rd March 1757, some of the inhabitants and Jesuit priests in charge of the Parish, retired to Fredericnagar or Serampur, where they continued to keep the Chandernagar Registers. On 23rd January 1758, Father N. Possevin, S. J., was at Fredericnagar, where he celebrated 7 marriages in 1758, 3 in 1759, and 2 in 1760. On 14th April 1761, he styles himself again "Vicaire de Chandernagore."

About our inscriptions themselves there is not much to say. The oldest in the Church, after that recording the construction of the Church (1783), is of 1812; 26th Aug. 1811 is the oldest date in the Catholic Cemetery, whereas in the Danish Cemetery we find 1781 as the earliest date, only two others there being older than the 19th century.

Previous collectors of inscriptions might have been more careful in indicating the provenance of their inscriptions. Thus, after borrowing from DeRozario an inscription to Mathew Cole (1811), and noting that we did

not find it in the Danish Cemetery, I discover that we copied it in the Catholic Cemetery. It is quite possible that at least two others borrowed from DeRozario, *i.e.*, our Nos. 4 and 7, or Charlotte Miranda (1801) and Macd. (Magdalen?) DaCosta (1804); were copied from the Catholic graveyard. But, De Rozario inserted them, with others from the Danish Cemetery, under the rubric "Serampore." In the same way, we find that Holmes & Co. inserts (p. 349) among the inscriptions of the Mission Burial-Ground, Serampur, one to Mrs. Ann Charlotte Gantzer, our No. 24, under "Catholic Cemetery." He warns us of the fact at least. Perhaps the explanation is that, as I was told, the wall of separation between the Catholic and Danish Cemeteries came at a very late date.

The Danish Cemetery appears to be exclusively Protestant. Thomas Swaries (1858) and James Casabon (1868), whom their Portuguese and French names mark out as Catholics, are not in the Catholic Burial Registers. On the other hand, Mrs. Amelia D'Cruz, aged 62 years, who was buried in the Danish Cemetery on 1st April 1841, is entered by the Rev. M. L. D'Mello in the Catholic Burial Register. But I did not find in our Serampur Registers Margarita Ellen Wilcox, wife of John Thomas Wilcox, who is buried in the Danish Cemetery. Cf. No. 36. Yet she was baptised conditionally at Serampur on 9th Jan. 1842, by the Rev. M. L. D'Mello, who on 2nd Jan. had baptised conditionally her two children, Edward Richard Cumberland, aged 11 years and 2 months, and Charlotte, aged 8 years and 2 months.

On the other hand, Mrs. Amelia Dent, aged 62 years, who was buried in the Danish Cemetery on 1st Apr. 1841, is entered by the Rev. M. L. D'Mello in the Catholic Burial Register.

Hannah Measures (1848) has an inscription to her name in the Catholic Church, Serampur (Cf. No. 3), but she buried her husband in the Mission Burial-Ground, Serampur (1827). Cf. Holmes & Co., *Bengal Obituary*, 1848, p. 348, column 1.

Holmes & Co.'s *Obituary* stops at 1841 for Serampur; yet, of 26 inscriptions in the Danish Cemetery for the period 1841-1896, C. R. Wilson published only one, that of General George Beyers Mainwaring (1893). Ten out of his 15 inscriptions are Danish, and these, without a translation, are meaningless to most of us.

# I.—INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

1.—(Over the central door of the Church, outside).—1783.—Deiparae,  
sine labe concepta/ templvm/ aere conlato/ A solo exstrvctvm/ An.  
M. DCC. LXXXIII./

(*Translation*).—This Church of the Mother of God conceived without sin was erected by subscription in the year 1783.

This inscription would seem to be modern, since the title of the Church was changed from *Madre de Deos* to that of the Immaculate Conception by a decree of the Congregation of Rites about 1860. Cf. H. Josson, S. J., in *Missions Belges*, Bruxelles, 1914, p. 146

2. (*In front of the central door of the Church, outside*).—1842, 20th April.—Sacred/ to the memory of / MARIA SOPHIA KARSTENSEN,/ second daughter of the late/ *C. Karstensen Esqr.*/ who departed this life,/ on the 20th April 1842,/ aged 16 years, 6 mos. & 24 days. Requiescat in Pace./ *J. H. Paul, Scts. Serampore.*

I had written 1812, but the registers show she died on 20th April 1842, aged as above, and was buried at the door of the Church by the Rev. B. Rabascall.

3. (*Inside the Church*).—1848, 23rd July—To/ The memory of / HANNAH MEASURES / Relict of the late/ *Joseph Measures, Esqre.*/ Died 23rd July 1848./ Aged 70 years./ *Holmes & Co, Scts. Calcutta.*

Her husband is buried in the Mission Burial-Ground, Serampur. Cf. *Holmes & Co's Bengal Obituary*, p. 348, column 1; where we read:—

To the Memory of JOSEPH MEASURES/ Obiit 14th October 1827,/ aged 57 years. This monument is erected by his beloved wife./ *H. Measures.*

4. (*On the floor outside the Church*).—1849, 6th Jan.—M. S./ of / MARY ADE[LA]IDE / EWART,/ obiit at Ishera, 6th Jany. 1849./ Ætat. 72 years./

Affliction mourns, but hope consoles her breast,  
For virtue's boon is everlasting rest.

This tablet is inscribed by her/ afflicted daughter/ *E. Weathrall.*/ Also/ [he]r daughter/ [ELIZA]BETH FRANCES/ [WE]ATHRALL/ [wife] of the late/ *Captain [M. T.] Weathrall, R. N.*/ [Born 5th] September 180[5]/ [Died 20th December 1873]/.

This inscription is restored by means of one in the Church.—“M. S.” in the beginning means *Memoriae sacrum*.

5. (*Inside*).—1850, 3rd March.—Sacred / to the memory of / ANNE / the beloved wife of / *A. J. Sheridan, Esq. re* / who departed this life / on the 3rd March 1850. / Requiescat in Pace. Amen. / *Calcutta. Llewelyn & Co. Sculptors.*

6. (*A tablet inside*).—1858, 28th Nov —Sacred to the memory of / MRS. ELIZABETH OLLIFFE, relict of/the / late *Joseph Francis Olliffe, Esq. re*, of Cork; / who departed this life on the 28th of Nov. 1858, aged 73 years. /

She was a devoted wife, a tender mother, a pious / exemplary Christian, who faithfully fulfilled / all the duties of life with religious exactitude. / Her remains are interred below, near those of / her beloved daughter, *Mrs. Sheridan.* /

This tablet is erected by her sorrowing sons / *Thomas and Washington Olliffe.* / *Murdoch Sculptor.* /

(Sculptured on a white marble slab, surmounted by a cross and, above it, a dove, which are both in a laurel wreath. This white slab is inserted in a slab of black marble, on which the name of the sculptor is engraved.)

She was the mother of Bishop Thomas Olliffe of Calcutta.

7. (*A tablet inside*)—1859, 13th May.—This tablet / is erected by *Washington Olliffe* / in memory of a dearly beloved brother, / **THE RIGHT REVEREND / THOMAS OLLIFFE, D. D.** / Vicar Apostolic of Western Bengal : / He died at Naples the 13th May 1859. / aged 45 years. /

A brother of Bishop Olliffe, J. F. Olliffe, a doctor in Paris, was made a Knight of the Légion d'Honneur in 1846 under Minister Guizot. Both he and Thomas were educated at Mr. Hamblin's and Dr. Porter's School. Cf. *Bengal Catholic Herald*, 1846, Vol. X, p. 28.

8. (*Inside, in front of the door*)—1873, 20th Dec.—In / affectionate remembrance / of / **ELIZABETH FRANCES WEATHRALL**, / of Ishera. / Relict of the late / *Captain M. T. Weathrall, R. N.* / Born 5th September 1805. / Died 20th December 1873. / Deeply regretted by her / sorrowing children and / by all who knew her worth. / This tablet is placed here / as a token of Love, / Respect, gratitude and esteem / by her youngest son. / *Dowling Sct. Calcutta.* /

9. (*A tablet on the left near the sanctuary*)—1895, 6th Oct.—**I. H. S. D.O.M.** / In memoriam / **R. P. FRIDERICI CAVALIERI, S. J.** / Qui die 23a. Julii an. 1836 / Neapoli natus, per 29 annos / Parochiam in Serampur rexit, / ibique, die 6a Octobris an. 1895 / pie in Domino defunctus, ad / pedem altaris beatam resur/rectionem expectat. / **R. I. P.** / *P. Swaries & Co. / Scts. Cal.* /

(*Translation*).—Jesus. / Deo Optimo Maximo. / In memory of the Rev. Father Frederic Cavalieri, S. J., who, born at Naples on the 23rd July 1836, governed during 29 years the Parish of Serampore, and, having died piously in the Lord on the 6th October 1895, awaits there at the foot of the altar a happy resurrection. May he rest in peace.

There is no inscription on the bell. I fancy this is the bell which Father Bernard Rabascall purchased in 1843 from the Danish Government, the expense being borne by the wife of Captain Henry Fitzsimon, 29th N. I. Barrackpore. It is described as large and fine-toned. (Cf. *Bengal Catholic Herald*, 1843, Vol. V, p. 241.)

## II.—INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE CATHOLIC CEMETERY.

10. 1811, 26th Aug.—The memory of / **MATHEW COLE**, / son of / *John Cole,* / who departed this life / on Monday the 26th Augt. 1811, / Aged 10 yrs.

2 Mos. & 25 days. / The loss of this youth / has regreted [*sic*] those that / knowed him & the great misfortune of his father. /

11. 1819, 8<sup>th</sup> Dec.—Sacred / to the memory of / MRS. ANNA COLE, / died on the 8th of December 1819. / Aged 25 years and 5 months. / She closed her eyes and saw her God. / Sublimado [?] Petamus. / This monument is erected / by her husband / *John Cole*. / Serampore the 1st of February 1820. / *Simpson and Llewelyn, Scts.* /

*Sublimado* should have been *Sublimiora*, perhaps.

12. 1840, 4<sup>th</sup> Dec.—I. H. S. / Sacred / to the memory of / ELLEN MADIGAN / the beloved Daughter of / *Timothy and Johana Madigan*, / of the 26th Cameronians, / who departed this Life, / on the 4th Decr. 1840, / Aged 2 yrs. and 2 Mos. /

13. 1855, 1856.—Sacred to the memory of / AUGUSTIN and / ISABELLA ALPHONSO / who departed this life / in 1855 and 1856 / aged 78 and 82 years respectively. /

This monument / is erected by their thirteen / sorrowing grand-children / the descendents [*sic*] / of their son-in-law / *Norbert*, / and late beloved daughter / *Anne Charlotte Gantzer*. / The righteous are blessed in the Lord. /

14. 1862, 11<sup>th</sup> May; 1869, 27<sup>th</sup> Dec.; 1870, 25<sup>th</sup> Jan.—To the memory of / CHARLOTTE ASHE / Died 11th May 1862, / Aged 57 years / 4 months and 13 days / and of CHARLES ASHE, / Died 27th December 1869, / Aged 72 years / 11 months and 14 days. /

Also of / their dearly loved daughter / JANE RACHEL, / Died 25th January 1870, / aged 34 years / 9 months .../ .... /

15. 1868, 7<sup>th</sup> Apr.—Sacred / to the memory of / MARIA POLYPHEMIA GOMES, / daughter of / *Anthony and Isabella Gomes* / born at Calcutta, / 23rd Feby. 1845 / died 7th April 1868.

"Have mercy on me, God, have / mercy on me; For my soul / trusteth in thee." / Psalm L.V. 1, 2. / *Calcutta, P. Swari. Sct.* /

16. 1870, 21<sup>st</sup> Oct.—Sacred to the memory of MR. JOHN D'CRUZE, / for many years / Deputy Magistrate of Serampore, / who departed this life / on the 2<sup>st</sup> October 1870, / aged 64 years, 6 months. /

He was greatly esteemed and respected / by all who knew him, and his death / is deeply and sincerely regretted / by his relatives and a large circle / of friends. /

"I am the resurrection and the / life: he that believeth in me, / although he be dead, shall live." /

St. John, Chap. XI, Verse 25. /

Also to the loved memory of / CHARLOTTE D'CRUZE, / widow of *John D'Cruse*, / died 30th July 1890, / aged 70 years 2 months. / Jesus, Mercy. / (*P. Swaries, Sct. Calcutta.*) /

17. 1872, 10th Dec.—Sacred / to the / memory of / JAMES AUGUSTINE GREENE, / son of *Dr. James A. Greene*, / Civil Surgeon, / Born 9th October 1865, Died 10th December 1872. / "Suffer the / little children / and forbid / them not to / come to me. / For the Kingdom / of heaven is / for such." /

1879, 28th Nov.—Also of / MARIE ESTELLE GREENE, / Born 31st December 1876. / Died 28th November 1879. / R. I. P. /

18. 1875, 7th July.—In loving memory of / ANNE ELIZABETH GANTZER, / (wife of *N. J. Gantzer*), died 7th July 1875. / Aged 52 years 4 months. /

1871, 27th Apr.—Also of her son / ERNEST St. CLAIR GANTZER, / died 27th April 1871. / Aged 18 years 11 months. /

This tablet is erected / as a tribute of affection / by her children. / Requiescat in Pace. /

19. 1876, 17th March.—HUGH CHARLEY JONES, / died 17th March 1876, / aged 24 years. / R. I. P. /

1887, 30th Apr.—A tribute of lasting regret to the memory of / MRS. ANN E. T. SINAES, / died 30th April 1887 / aged 81 years. /

Also an affectionate memento to / MIRA SCOTT RODGERS, / widow of / *Christian Sutherland Rodgers* / H. M.'s Indian Marine Service / aged 71 years, 7 months and 14 days. /

"The just shall live in everlasting remembrance." /

1914, 26th Apr.—Also of / ALFRED JONES SINAES / died 26th April 1914, / aged 86 years, 6 months. / R. I. P. / (*P. Swaries & Co., Scts.*). /

20. 1877, 15th March.—Sacred / to the memory / of / JOHN ARTHUR CRAVEN, / late Sub-Divisional Magistrate / of Serampore, / who died at Serampore on the / 15th March 1877, / aged 53 years & 7 months. / Deeply mourned by his sorrowing widow & children. / "Eternal rest grant unto him, O Lord, / and let perpetual light shine upon him." / Thy will be done. / (*Calcutta, Brown & Co. Scts.*) /

21. 1879, 7th Nov.—Sacred / to the / memory / of / EDWARD FERRIER, / the beloved and youngest child of / *John & Aline DeVerinne*, / Born 17th April 1875, / died 7th / Novr. / 1879, / aged / 4 / years / 6 / months / and / 21 / days. /

22. 1881, 2nd Nov.—To the loved memory of / ROBERT MICHAEL, / Died 2nd November 1881, Aged 61 years. / This tribute of affection is erected by his afflicted and sorrowing widow. /

1892, 29th Apr.—"Sit tibi terra levis." / In ever loving memory of our fond mother / HANNAH MATILDA, widow of *Robert Michael*, / Died 29th April 1892. /



"To the Lord our God belong Mercies and / Forgiveness, though we have rebelled against Him. /

Inscribed with heartfelt sorrow by her children / *Isabella M. Middleton* & *Edward R. Michael.* /

1900, 11th Oct.—Also / of / EDWARD ROBERT MICHAEL / Died / 11th / October / 1900. / Aged / 55 / years. / (*Swaries Sct., Calcutta.*) /

23. 1882, 25th Nov.—In memory of / a dearly loved sister / ANNE CHARLOTTE GANTZER, / Born 3rd March 1846, / died 25th November 1882. /

This tablet / is erected by her / brothers and sisters / as a tribute of / affection. / (*Calcutta, Dowling Sculptors.*) /

24. 1884, 4th July—To / the memory of / ANN CHARLOTTE / the beloved wife of / *N. J. Gantzer*, / *Ætat.* 42 years, 1 mo. & 18 days. / Leaving a husband and eleven / children to bemoan their loss. / Requiescat in pace. /

Here also lie the remains / of / NORBERT JOSEPH GANTZER, / Born 6th June 1807, / died 4th July 1884. /

This tablet is erected by his / sorrowing children / as a tribute of love and esteem / to his affectionate memory. / (*Dowling Sct.*) /

25. 1884, 9th July.—In loving memory of ERNEST / RAYMOND MIDDLETON B. U. C. S. / (Third son of the late *Captain J. F. Middleton*, Bengal Army) / Died in London 9th July 1884 and buried here 17th September 1885 / aged 38 years. / "Requiescat in Pace." / Erected by his sorrowing widow. / (*Brown & Co., Scts. Calcutta.*) /

In fond remembrance of our beloved mother / ISABELLA MARIA MIDDLETON, / widow of *Ernest Raymond Middleton*, / died 26th October 1901, aged 58 years. /

The heart's keen anguish only those can tell

Who bid their dearest and best farewell.

Inscribed by her afflicted children *Esme* and *Ivan Middleton.* /

26. 1885, 1st March.—Sacred / to the memory of / JAMES AUGUSTINE GREENE, / late Civil Surgeon of / Tipperah. / Born 25th June 1833, / died 1st March 1885. / Thy will be done. / Requiescat in Pace. / (*Calcutta Brown & Co., Scts.*) /

27. 1887, 30th Nov.—This tablet / is placed by his widow, / in / affectionate remembrance / of / CECIL JOSEPH MIDDLETON, / Executive Engineer, P. W. D., / second son of the late / *John Forbes Middleton*, / Captain, Bengal Army / died on the 30th November 1887, / aged 45 years. /

Here Pause and reflect for a while, / This is the sure place to rest from toil / With sickness I was sore opprest ; / kind death has eased me, I lie here at rest. /

1897, 3rd Aug.—And in loving memory of my dear daughter / MARY GRACE MIDDLETON / born 12th February 1885, / died 3rd August 1897. / (*P. Swaries Sculpt.*) /

1876, 27th Jan. and 1875, 29th Sept.—Sacred to the loved memory of a fond Mother / and much regretted brother. / MARIA A. MIDDLETON, widow of / *Captain J. F. Middleton*, / Bengal Army, / born 16th August 1815, / died 27th January 1876, / and / DESMOND H. MIDDLETON, / born 1st August 1840 / died 29th September 1875. /

Erected as a tribute of affection / by a sorrowing son and brother. / *Cecil J. Middleton*. / (*Calcutta, P. Swaries, Scts.*) /

28. 188—, 8th Aug.—MARY / SURITA / died 18-8-188— / 89 years. /

29. 1894.—Marlina / age six months / died 1894. /

Probably : Martina.

30. 1895, 7th Jan.—In loving memory of / PHYLLIS MARY, / born Oct. 15, 1873, died 7th January 1895. /

1895, 4th June.—PHIL ALSTON, / born 24th April 1895, died 4th June 1895. /

1904, 8th May.—MARY ALINE, / born 4th Febr. 1904, died 8th May 1904. /

The beloved children of / *Thomas and Aline Jackson*. / For such is the Kingdom of heaven. / (*P. Swaries & Co., Scts.*) /

31. 1899, 26th Jan.—In / affectionate remembrance / of / BERNARD S. GANTZER. / Sixth son of / *Mr. & Mrs. N. J. Gantzer*, / born 12th February 1845, / died 26th January 1899. / R. I. P. / (*P. Swaries & Co.*) /

32. 1900, 23rd Jan.—In loving memory of / ALICE J. BROWN, / niece of *Mr. C. A. Gantzer*, / and great-grand-daughter of / *Mr. & Mrs. A. Alphonso*, / died 23rd January 1900. / R. I. P. /

33. 1900, 2nd May—This tablet is erected / to the loved memory / of / REV. Fr. EDGAR De SADELEER, S. J. / By his parishioners. / Born 6th Janry. 1863, died 2nd May 1900. / "The good Shepherd giveth his life for the sheep." / R. I. P. / (*Brown & Co., Scts., Calcutta.*) /

34. 1903, 20th February.—LU. . S / died 20-2-03, / age 43 years. /

35. 1903, 16th May.—In loving memory of / WALTER NORBERT, / son of the late *John D'Cruze*, / died May 16th, 1903. / Aged 53 years, 11 months & 10 days. / "My Jesus, Mercy." / "Requiescat in Pace." / (*P. Swaries & Co., Scts.*) /

36. 1905, 29th Jan.—SIMON DOR / died 29-1-05 / age 75 years. /

37. 1905, 1st Dec.—SERAPHIN / died 1-12-05 / age 6 years. /

38. 1906, 31st May—..... / died 31-5-06. /

40. 1907, 11th May—Sacred / to the / memory of / our dear mother / GEORGIANA H. G. GREENE, / born 28th November 1846, / died 11th May

1907. / Requiescat / in Pace. / Thy will be done. / (*Calcutta, Brown & Co., Scts.*) /

4L. 1909, 1st June—My Jesus Mercy. / Ind. 100 days. / Sacred / to the memory / of / CHARLOTTE MARIA SIMEON, / born 21st November 1866, / died 1st June 1909. / R. I. P. / (*P. Swaries & Co. Scts.*) /

*Alphabetical list of all the names in the inscriptions of the Catholic Church and Cemetery, Serampur.*

[*N. B.*—The death is not recorded in the case of names without indication of date.]

	Date of death.	No. of inscription.
Alphonso, A. ( <i>Mr &amp; Mrs.</i> )	...	32
———, Anne Charlotte Gantzer, <i>Mrs.</i> , <i>née</i>	...	13
———, Augustin	... 1855	13
———, Isabella	... 1856	13
Ashe, Charles	... 1869	14
——, Charlotte	... 1862	14
——, Jane Rachel	... 1870	14
Brown, Alice J.	... 1900	32
Cavalieri, Frederick, <i>Rev. Fr., S. J.</i>	... 1895	9
Cole, Anna, <i>Mrs.</i>	... 1819	11
——, John	...	10, 11
——, Matthew	... 1811	10
Craven, John Arthur	... 1877	20
Cruze, Charlotte D', <i>Mrs.</i>	... 1890	16
———, John D'	...	35
———, John D'	... 1870	16
———, Walter D'	... 1903	35
Dor, Simon	... 1905	36
Ewart, Mary Adelaide	... 1849	4
———, E. Weatherall. <i>Mrs.</i> , <i>née</i>	...	4
Gantzer, Anne Charlotte, <i>Mrs.</i> <i>née</i> Alphonso	...	13
———, Anne Charlotte	... 1882	23
———, Anne Charlotte	... No date	24
———, Anne Elizabeth, <i>Mrs.</i>	... 1875	18
———, Bernardo S.	... 1899	31

	Date of death.	No. of inscription.
Gantzert, C. A.	..	32
————, Ernest St. Clair	... 1871	18
————, Norbert	... ..	13
————, Norbert Joseph	... ..	18, 31
————, Norbert Joseph	... 1884	24
Gomes, Anthony	... ..	15
————, Isabella, <i>Mrs.</i>	... ..	15
————, Maria Polyphemia	1868	15
Greene, A. G. Georgiana, <i>Mrs.</i>	... 1907	40
————, James Augustine	... 1872	17
————, James Augustine, <i>Dr.</i>	... 1885	26
————, James A., <i>Dr.</i>	... ..	17
————, Marie Estelle, <i>Miss</i>	... 1879	17
Jackson, Aline, <i>Mrs.</i>	... ..	30
————, Mary Aline, <i>Miss</i>	... 1904	30
————, Phil Alston	... 1895	30
————, Phyllis Mary	... 1895	30
————, Thomas	... ..	30
Jones, Hugh Charley	... 1876	19
Karstensen, Maria Sophia	... 1842	2
————, C.	... ..	2
Lucius (Lucas ?)	... 1903	34
Madigan, Ellen	... 1840	12
————, Johanna, <i>Mrs.</i>	... ..	12
————, Timothy	... ..	12
Marlina, (Martina ?)	... 1894	20
Measures, Hannah	... 1848	3
————, Joseph	... ..	3
Michael, Edward Robert	... 1900	22
————, Hannah Matilda	... 1892	22
————, Robert	... 1881	22
Middleton, Cecil Joseph	... 1887	27
————, Desmond H.	... 1875	27
————, Ernest Raymond	... 1884	25
————, Esme	... ..	25
————, Isabella M.	... 1901	22, 25
————, Ivan	... ..	25
————, John Forbes, <i>Capt.</i>	... ..	25, 27
————, Maria A., <i>Mrs.</i>	... 1876	27

	Date of death.	No. of inscription.
Middleton, Mary Grace	... 1897	27
Olliffe, Elizabeth, <i>Mrs.</i>	... 1858	6
——, Joseph Francis	... ..	6
——, Sheridan, <i>Mrs.</i> , <i>née.</i>	... ..	6
——, Thomas ( <i>Bishop</i> )	... 1859	6, 7
——, Washington	... ..	6, 7
Rodgers, Christian Sutherland.	... ..	19
——, Mira Scott, <i>Mrs.</i>	... No date.	19
Sadeleer, de, Edgar, <i>Rev.</i> , <i>S. J.</i>	... 1900	33
Seraphin,	... 1905	37
Sheridan, A. J.	... ..	5
——, Anne, <i>Mrs.</i>	... 1850	5
——, <i>Mrs.</i> , <i>née</i> Olliffe	... ..	6
Simeon, Charlotte Maria	... 1909	41
Sinaes, Alfred Jones	... 1914	19
——, Ann E. T., <i>Mrs.</i>	... 1887	19
Surita, Mary	... 188—	28
Verinne, de, Aline, <i>Mrs.</i>	... ..	21
——, de, Edward Ferrier	... 1879	21
——, de, John	... ..	21
Weathrall, E. <i>Mrs.</i> , <i>née</i> Ewart	... ..	4
——, Elizabeth Frances	... 1873	4, 8
——, M. T., <i>Capt.</i>	... ..	4, 8

*Sculptors.*

Brown & Co., Calcutta	... ..	20, 25, 26, 33, 40
Dowling, Calcutta	... ..	8, 23, 24
Holmes & Co., Calcutta	... ..	3
Llewelyn & Co., Calcutta	... ..	5
Murdoch	... ..	6
Paul (J. H.), Serampore	... ..	2
Simpson & Llewelyn	... ..	11
Swaries (P) & Co., Calcutta	... ..	9, 15, 16, 19, 22
		27, 30, 31, 35, 41.

## III.—INSCRIPTION IN THE DANISH CEMETERY.

This is separated by a wall from the Catholic Cemetery. A number of tombs are without inscriptions

1. 1711, 6th May.—Herunder hviler / MADAME ANNA ABIGAEL DUNTZFELDT, / föd Krögel / Hun saae först Verdens Lys i Tranquebar / den 9 Augustii 1745 / ag doede i Frederichsnagore i Bengalen / 16 de Maii 1781. / Hvis et oprigtigt sind, en Kjoerlig Tankemaade / Hengivenhed til Gud, Trofasthed Mod enhver / Fortjener Verdens Koes, og Nijder himlens naade. / Saa er du salig hist saa bör du æres her. / Memoriam Dilectissimæ Parens hocce devovit / Monumentum.—C. W. Duntzfeldt.

(Translation):—Here underneath rests Mrs. Anna Abigael Duntzfeldt, née Krögel. She first saw the world's light in Tranquebar on the 9th August 1745, and died in Frederichsnagore in Bengal the 16th May 1781. Whose upright mind and loving heart, trusting in God and true to all, deserves this world's praise and enjoys heaven's salvation. So are you happy there, so deserve you regard here. C. W. Duntzfeldt, her father (?), erected this monument to her beloved memory.

I borrow the translation of the Danish inscriptions from E. Wenger.

2. 1790, 6th Oct.—Sacred / to the memory of / MR. J. STEWART, / Merchant, / died 6th October 1790. / aged 39. / This monument is erected / by his brother / Robert Stewart. /

No longer to be found. Borrowed from Asiaticus, De Rozario, Wenger and C. R. Wilson.

3. 1796, 1st Aug. —Sacred to the memory of JOHN CHARLES WASMUS, / who was born the 5th of March 1795, and departed / this life, the 1st of August 1796. /

No more found. Borrowed from Asiaticus and De Rozario.

4. 1801 8th June—Here rests the mortal part of CHARLOTTE MIRANDA. / Her spirit departed in full confidence of her / Redeemer on the 8th June 1801, to the repose / earned by her virtuous and toilsome pilgrimage in this world, leaving her friends in / silence to mourn and her afflicted husband torn / with grief; but submissively yielding to / the Dictates of Divine Providence. / Aetatis suae 22 An. 11 Mense / 6 die. / Requievit in pace. /

Has disappeared. Borrowed from Asiaticus and De Rozario. Was perhaps originally in the Catholic Cemetery.

5. 1802, 15th Febr.—Monumentum / CHRISTIANI BIE / Natus in Frederichsnagore / Die Novembris 18, 1788, / Defunctus 15 Februarii 1802. /

(Translation):—The monument of Christian Bie. Born in Frederichsnagore on the 18th November 1788. Died 15th February 1802.

Borrowed from Asiaticus, De Rozario, Holmes, Wenger and C. R. Wilson. This inscription has disappeared. He must have been the son of Governor Bie of Serampur.

6. 1805, 18th May—Sacred to the memory / of / His Excellency / LT-COLONEL OLE (OLAVE) BIE, / Governor of Fredericsnagore, / Born at Trondhjem, Norway, in February 1733. / Died at Serampur, 18th May 1805. /

Colonel Bie was a disciple of Swartz of Tranguebar. / He received and sheltered the Baptist Missionaries in 1799 and built the church here. / (*P. Swaries & Co., Scts., Calcutta.*) /

I find on him the following in *The Oriental Obituary* ..., Vol. 2, by William Urquhart and printed by him at the Journal Press, Madras, 1810, pp. 182-183:—"His Excellency Colonel O'Bie, His Danish Majesty's Governor of Serampur. He died on Saturday, the 18th May 1805, at the Government House of Serampur, after a long and painful illness, which he bore with fortitude and resignation, becoming a man and a Christian and in the 73rd year of his age, the greater part of which has been spent in the service of his King in India, at Tranguebar and Serampur, his Majesty's sentiments of which were marked by the rank and trusts he was pleased to confer and repose in him.

"In private life, his liberality and benevolence, together with his urbanity and human philanthropic disposition, made him esteemed by every body who knew him, and beloved by his numerous relatives, friends and domestics, to whom he was truly fatherly, in short, by all ranks of people, living under his Government, as well as by many gentlemen of the English nation; which has rendered his death sincerely and deeply lamented.

"He was buried on the following morning, under the firing of minute guns, and every military honour the place could afford, attended by the whole settlement to the grave."

7. 1804, 31st Oct.—Sacred / to the memory of / MACD. [*sic*] DE COSTA / mother-in-law of J. Chambers. / Died 31st Oct. 1804. /

Inscription no longer found. Borrowed from De Rozario. Was it not originally in the Catholic Cemetery? Macd. is perhaps a misprint for Magd., *i.e.*, Magdalen.

8. 1805, 17th July—Herunder hviler / CHRISTIAN WILHELM FROM / Forhenvarende boutteller / or "Hovmester," i det Danske / Asiatiske Compagnies' tjeneste. / Døde i Serampur den / XVII July MDCCCV sit-aar. /

(*Translation*):—Here underneath rests Christian William From, previously Steward to the Danish Governor, in the Danish-Asiatic Company's service. Died at Serampur [the XVII July MDCCCV in his—year.

Marked No. 2.—My own copy compared with Wenger and C. R. Wilson. Where does the original say that the deceased was Steward to the Danish Governor?

9. 1808, 10th July.—Here rest / the mortal remains / of / WILLIAM BASSET / son of / Colonel T. T. Basset / who departed this life / 10th July 1808 / aged 15 years. /

The inscription has disappeared.—Borrowed from De Rozario.

10. 1808, 4th Nov.—Her Nedlagtes det Forgjaenglige / af / Skibs Assistent MARTIN FRIDERIK LEISNER / Fodt i Kiobenhavn d XIII Decembre MDCCCLXXXII / Dod i Frideriksnacore d IIII Novembre MDCCCVIII. /

(*Translation*).—Here is buried that *which has gone before* of Martin Frederic Leisner, Ship-Assistent. Born at Kopenhagen on the 13th December 1782; died at Frideriksnacore the 4th November 1808.

This inscription cannot now be found. Borrowed from De Rozario. The date of birth should be 1782 instead of 1882. *Det Forgjænglige* must mean "the mortal remains."

11. 1812, 8th May.—Minde over / FREDERIK CARL SMITH, / forhen / Skibscapitain / i Det Danske / Asiatiske Compagnies' / Tjeneste. Dod / i Serampore 8 de Maii 1812 / i 51 Aars Alder. Fred / være med dig.

(*Translation*):—Monument of Frederik Carl Smith, previously Ship's Captain in the Danish Asiatic Company's service. Died in Serampur 8th May 1812 in his 51st year. Peace be with you.

My copy compared with Wenger and C. R. Wilson's.

12. 1812, 1st Aug.—Her hviler / Det Jordiske / af / JULIANA MARIA WALLICH / Fodt den 19de September 1797 / Givt den 30de Maii 1812 / Ag dod den 1ste August S : A : / vi sees igien : i N. W. / (*Simpson & Llewelyn, Scets., Calcutta.*)

(*Translation*).—Here rests the departed of Juliana Maria Wallich. Born 19th September 1797, married 30th May, 1812, and died 1st August, same year. We meet again.—*N. W* [*allich*].

Marked No. 4. My copy compared with C. R. Wilson's.

13. 1812, 18th Dec.—Het nedlagdes det Jordiske / af / Factor CASPER TOP, / som efter mange Aars Ophold / og Tjeneste i Indien, / dode i Serampore den 18 de December 1812. / i en Alder af 54 Aar. /

Held for enlever som Dóden skienker Fred

Han vaagne ej og smiler for at blóde;

Han vaagne skal; men glemt or hvad han leed

Held ham : Held til den lykkelige Dóde :

Datteslig Erkjendelighed satte Faderen dette Minde.

(*Simpson & Llewelyn, Scets., Calcutta.*)

(*Translation*):—Here is buried the earthy [?] of Merchant Casper Top, who, after many years residence and service in India, died at Serampore 18th December 1812, at the age of 54 years.—(*Poetry left out.*)

A daughter's reverence erected for her father this monument.

Marked No. 5. My copy compared with Wenger & C. R. Wilson.

14. 1817, 11th March.—Herunder / det / forgjængelige / af / twende elskede børn / ANGELICA WILHELMINE / og / CHARLES BROWN FJELLEKUP / Som paa. en. ag. samme dag / den 11de Martii 1817 / indgik. i. evigheden. / den fórste. i. sit. 9de / den sidste. i. sit. 2de Aar. /

(*Translation*):—Here underneath is that which has gone before [?] of two beloved children, Angelica Wilhelmine and Charles Brown Fjellerup, who on the same day, 11th March 1817, departed this life, the former in its 9th year, the latter in its 2nd year.

Marked No. 6. My copy compared with Wenger & C. R. Wilson.

15. 1820, 6th Apr.—Sacred / To the memory of / JAMES Mc.LACHLAN. / Who departed this life / the 6th of April, / 1820 : / In the twenty-ninth year. /



Not published before.

16. 1820, 19th Apr.—Herunder hviler JOHAN / WEDEL JARLSBERGH / fod in Norge / Død i Serampur 19de April / 1820 i sit 63 Aars / Alder fred med den Godes minde. /

(Translation):—Here underneath rests John Wedel Jarlsbergh. Born in Norway. Died in Serampur 19th April 1820 in his 63rd year. Peace with those who love God.

Marked No. 7.—My copy compared with Wenger & C. R. Wilson. Wenger translates the last sentence: "peace with his goodness; memento."

17. 1820, 14th Dec.—Sacred / To the memory of / MR. SAMUEL GRAY / of Calcutta, / born in Dundee / Decr. 23rd, 1794 / died at Serampore / Decr. 14th, 1820. / (*Simpson & Llewelyn, Scts., Calcutta.*) /

Compared with Holmes & Co.'s.

18. 1821, 18th July.—Sacred / to the memory of / JOHN MACLACHLAN CORSON, / who departed this life / on the 18th of July 1821 : / Aged 27 years. / (*H. Kyte, Sct., Calcutta.*) /

Near No. 4. Not published before.

19. 1822, 15th May.—Sacred / to the memory of / MISS HANNAH BUCKLAND, / Who departed this life, / May 15th, 1822, / aged 7 years and 7 months. /—(*P. Lindeman.*) /

Compared with Holmes & Co.'s.

20. 1824, 29th Apr.—ERIK KIOER MULLER / medlem af det Konlg. Raad / i Serampur / død udi hans Alders 49de Aar. Den 29de April 1824. / (Translation).—Erik Kjoer Muller, member of the King's Council in Serampore. Died the 29th April 1824 at the age of 49 years.

Marked No. 8. My copy compared with Wenger & Wilson.

21. 1824, 19th Dec.—Sacred / to the memory of / MRS. MAJOR ANNE EAGLE / who died December 19th, 1824 / aged 45 years. /—(*Higgs & Hunter, Scts.*) /

My copy compared with Holmes & Co.'s.

22. 1825, 16th Febr.—Sacred / to the Memory of / WILLIAM BALDWIN Esq. re / late of Hvrampore (*sic*) / who departed this life / on the 16th February 1825 / Aged 54 years. / This small tribute / to departed worth is erected / by his affectionate son. / *W. J. B.* /

Near No. 13. Compared with Holmes & Co.'s.

23. 1827, 21st April.—Sacred / to the memory of / MRS. M. C. RABEHOLM. / who departed this life / on the 21st April 1827, / aged 40 years. / This tribute to departed worth / is erected by her affectionate daughter / *M. W. B.* /

Marked No. 9. Compared with C. R. Wilson's.

24. 1828, 7th Oct.—Sacred / to the memory of / THE HONORABLE JACOB KREFTING / Knight of the Royal Order of the Dannebrog /

Colonel of his Majesty's Forces, / Chief and Director of / the Danish possessions in Bengal / from May 1805 until October 1828. / Born at Moss in Norway, / October 9th, 1757 ; / died at Serampur, / October 7th, 1828. / After a service of 44 years in India. /

Marked No. 10. Compared with Holmes & Co. and C. R. Wilson.

[1823, 28th December]. "I went this morning to return a visit which I had received from Colonel Krefting, the Danish Governor of Serampur, a fine old veteran who had been above 40 years resident in Bengal, yet still preserves the apparently robust health and florid old age of Norway, of which country he is a native. With him I found his secretary, an officer of the name of Mansbach, also a Norwegian, whose mother I had met with many years back at the house of Mr. Rosencrantz at Hafsloen, on the Falls of the Glommer." Cf. Reginald Heber, Bishop of Calcutta, *Narrative of a journey...* 1824-25, London, Murray, 1828, Vol. 1, p. 50 ; see also p. 51.

25. 1829, 9th May.—Sacred / to the memory of / W. M. TOULMIN / who died 9th May 1829 / aged 35 years, / sincerely regretted by / his afflicted widow. /

Along the path. Compared with Holmes & Co.

26. 1831, 14th Nov.—OVE MUUS døde 14de November 1831.  
(*Translation*) :—Ove Muus, died 14th November 1831.

Not found. Borrowed from Wenger & C. R. Wilson.

27. 1833.—I. S. HOHLENBERGH, / 1795, 1833. / Hædret af Medborgere, / Elsket a Undergivne. / Dybt savnet / Af Hustru og venner. /  
(*Translation*).—J. S. Hohlenbergh, 1795—1833. Honoured by brother citizens, loved by subordinates, deeply lamented by wife and friends.

Marked No. 12. Compared with Holmes & Co., Wenger and C. R. Wilson. There is a more elaborate inscription to him in the Danish (now English) Church of Serampur.

28. 1833, 2nd Febr.—Sacred / to the memory of / MRS. CATHERINE DRAPER / who departed this life / on the 2nd February 1833, / aged 53 years. / Erected / by her affectionate children / in testimony of their reverence / for her virtues / and their sorrow for her loss. / (*H. Kyte, Sct., Calcutta*). /

Compared with Holmes & Co.

29. 1834, 16th July.—Sacred / to the memory of / MRS. MARGARET HEATHER / who departed this life / on the 16th of July / 1834 / aged 53 years. / (*Simpson & Co., Scts., Calcutta*). /

Compared with Holmes & Co.

30. 1835, 4th June.—CHARLOTTE CAROLINE BAKER / born on the 1st of March 1834. / Died on the 4th June 1835. / (*Calcutta, P. Lindeman, Sct.*) /

Along the path. Compared with Holmes & Co.

31. 1835, 4th Sept.—To the memory of / CHARLES STEWART WOOLLEN, Esqr. / Died 4th Sept. 1835, / aged 18 years & 10 days. / He lived beloved and / died lamented. /

Compared with Holmes & Co.

32. 1839, 19<sup>th</sup> Oct.—Sacred / to / the memory of / HENRY HENDERSON / Deputy Secretary / to the Bank of Bengal, / who departed this life / at Serampur on Saturday / the 19th October 1839. / (*Llewelyn & Co., Scts., Calcutta.*) /

Near No. 8. Compared with Holmes & Co.

33. 1841, 1<sup>st</sup> Apr.—Sacred / to the memory of / AMELIA DENT / who departed this life / on the 1st April 1841 / of cholera / aged 62 Yrs. 7 Mos. and 12 Ds. / This Monument is erected / as a memorial of her virtues / by her affectionate and devoted / children / (?? *Paul, Scts., Serampur.*) /

Compared with Holmes & Co. See note in my introduction.

34. 1845, 4<sup>th</sup> Jan.—JAMES MC. HARG, / Died 4th January 1845 / aged 29 years. / (*L. Llewelyn & Co., Scts., Calcutta.*) /

Near No. 9. Perhaps the name is McHaig.—Unpublished.

35. 1852, 3<sup>rd</sup> September.—Sacred / to the memory of / ELEANOR GEORGIANA / The beloved wife of / *George Bright, Esq. re* / of the Bengal Civil Service. / She died on the 3rd Sept. 1852 / aged 28 years. /

I am the Resurrection and / the Life saith the Lord : he that / believeth in me though he were / dead, yet shall he live, and who/soever liveth and believeth in / me shall never die. St. John, xi. 25 : 26. / (*Paul & Son, Scts., Serampur.*) /

Unpublished.

36. 1853, 10<sup>th</sup> Aug.—Sacred / to the memory of / MRS. M. E. WILCOX. / Who departed this life / on the 10th August 1853 / [aged] 44 Yrs. 9 Mos. 12 Days. /

Unpublished. See note in my introduction.

37. 1853, 24<sup>th</sup> Nov.—To the Memory / of / JAMES WEABENS / one of the superintendents / employed by *Messrs. Hunt, Bray & Emsley* on the Railway Works. / He died at Serampur / much respected / 24th November 1853. /

Perhaps : James Wealins.—Unpublished.

38. 1856, 8<sup>th</sup> March.—Sacred / To the memory of / JOHN FORSYTH / only son of / *Mr. & Mrs. H. W. Beddy*, / who departed this life / on the 8th March 1856. / Aged 5 Yrs. 4 Mos. & 15 days. /

Near No. 12.

39. 1857, 5<sup>th</sup> May.—Sacred / to the memory of / ANNE / the beloved wife of / *John H. Driver Esq. re* / who departed this life / on the 5th May 1857. / Aged 32 years 6 months & 4 days. / (*Paul & Son, Scts., Serampur*) /

40. 1857, 25<sup>th</sup> July.—ELLEN MARY PRINGLE / born 14th Oct. 1856 / died 25th July 1857. / (*Serampur.—Paul & Son, Scts.*) /

41. 1857, 6th August.—Sacred / to the memory of / CHARLOTTE SOPHIA TARLETON / born June 19th, 1857 / died August 6th, 1857. / (*Serampur.—Paul & Sons, Scts.*) /

Along the path.

42. 1858, 10th Jan.—Sacred / to the memory of / MR. THOMAS SWARIES / died 10th January 1858 / aged 45 years. / This tablet is erected / as a token of affection by / his brother P. S. / (*P. Swaries, Sculp.*) /

43. 1858, 7th Oct.—This marks / the resting place of / CAROLINE HENRIETTA, / the fondest and / most dutiful of wives, / who was / cut off in the prime of life, / on the 7th Oct. 1858, / born 25th Decr. 1829, / aged 28 years 9 mos. & 14 days. / Leaving three children and / husband / to bemoan her irreparable loss. / Erected / by her most devoted partner / W. H. Pringle. / Rest, dearest, rest in peace, / thou canst not return, but I'll go to thee. / (*Paul & Son, Scts.*) /

44. 1859, 4th June; 1862, 8th April.—Sacred / to the memory of / CHARLES JOSEPH, / Surveyor, G. T. Road, / died 4th June 1859, / aged 56 years 7 months & 6 days. / Dear is the spot where Christians sleep, / and sweet the strains which Angels pour. / Oh! why should we in anguish weep? / He is not lost but gone before. /

Also his grandson / WILLIAM CHARLES / the first and beloved son of / Mr. & Mrs. R. Glassup, / who departed this life / at Calcutta, 8th April 1862, / aged 1 year 7 months and 12 days. / Sleep on, sweet child, and take thy rest / God calls those first whom he loves best. / (*Paul & Son, Scts., Serampore.*) /

45. 1860, 27th Sept.—In memory of / M. C. BRADLEY / who died / on the 27th September 1860, / aged 55 years. / (*Paul & Son., Scts. Serampore.*) /

Perhaps: Boadley.

46. 1862, 14th Jan.—In memory / of / MRS. AMELIA BAILEY, / died 14th Jany. 1862, / aged 32 years. /—(*Llewelyn & Sons., Scts. Serampur.*) /

47. 1863, 15th Sept.—Sacred to the memory of / CECIL ALFRED, / the beloved and deeply regretted son of / Gilbert & Agnes Rodgers. / Accidentally drowned in / the Serampur College / tank, whilst bathing. / On the 15th September 1863. / Aged 15 years and 8 months. /

"The Lord gave, and the Lord / hath taken away, blessed / be the name of the Lord." / (*Calcutta, P. Lindeman & Sons.*) /

48. 1863, 6th Nov.—Sacred / to the memory of / WILLIAM WOOLLEY, Esq. / Assistant Surgeon, / Invalid Establishment / who departed this life / on the 6th November 1863, / aged 8 [?] years. /

49. 1865, 5th Febr.—Sacred / to / the memory / of / Mr. J. GIBSON / who departed this life / on the 5th Febr. 1865, / aged 75 yrs. & 21 days / deeply regretted / by his / bereaved children. /

50. 1866, 22nd Jan.; 1866, 2nd Febr.—Sacred / to the memory of / JOHN GOTLIEB HERROLD, / departed this life on the / 22nd January 1866. / Aged 73 years 7 months / and 18 days. / A Government servant / for 58 years. / He lived and died a Christian. / Requiescat in Pace. /

Also of / GEORGE GOTLIEB HERROLD / youngest son of the above, died 3rd February 1866. / Aged 16 years. / Lord God, thy holy will be done. /

Along the path.

51. 1868, 12th Aug.—In memory of / JAMES CASABON, / obit 12th August 1868, / Ætat. 55 yrs. 1 mo. & 4 days. /—(*Funl. Fürng. Compy. Serampore.*) /

Near No. 9.

52. 1868, 29th Aug.—JOHN SCOTT / H. M. Mint / died / 29th August 1868. /

Along the path.

53.—1869, 21st May.—Sacred / to the memory / of / WILLIAM WOLLEN, Esq., / late of the Bengal Civil Service / fifty-six years a resident in India, / born 21st April 1794, died 21st May 1869, / aged 75 years and 1 month. / Requiescat in pace. /

Thou art gone to the grave ! We no longer behold thee,  
Nor tread the rough path of the world by thy side ;  
But the wide arms of mercy are spread to enfold thee,  
And sinners may die, for the sinless has died.  
Thou art gone to the grave, but we will not deplore thee,  
Whose God was thy ransom, thy guardian and guide ;  
He gave thee, He took thee, and He will restore thee ;  
And death has no sting, for the Savior has died.

This tablet is erected / by his afflicted widow. / Also of his widow / *Ann Elizabeth Wollen* / who departed this life on the 29th March 1895. / Aged 75 years 8 months & 11 days. / (*P. Swaries, Sculp. Calcutta.*) /

At the back, coat of arms with motto under a line : *ut tibi sic alias.*

54. 1871, 31st Dec.—In / Memory of / ROBERT CROFTON, Esqre. / Born Novr. 1801, / died 31st Decr. 1871. / (*Llewelyn & Co.*) /

55. 187(7?), 18th March.—[Sacred to the beloved memory (?)] / of / HORACE MICHAEL. / The beloved son of / J. [S. (?)] *L. Harris* / who died 18th March 187(7?) / Aged 15 mos. / (*Left face*). It is well with the child. / It is well. /

Lift up your gates, ye / golden gates, and let the little / traveller in. /

Near No. 12.

56. 1878, 7th March; 1875, 10th Jan.—In / memory of / RICHARD GLASSUP / of the E. I. Railway Service / who died after / a long and painful illness / on the 7th March 1878, / aged 40 years 8 months and 25 days. / Go then, dear shade, thy just reward receive; / Faith bids me trust, though nature bids me grieve; / I bow submissive to the will divine; / Mine is the sorrow, be the glory thine. / Erected by his / affectionate and afflicted wife. /

Also of his daughter / EMMA GRACE / who died 10th January 1875, / aged 15 years, 6 months, and 20 days. /

57. 1889, 25th April.—In memory of / Mrs. MARY ELEANOR LUTZ, / born 24th Jany. 1841, / died 25th April 1889. / Dein Geist Ist Dahin Geschieden / In Frieden Ruhe Dein Gebein. / (*Llewelyn & Co.*) /

58. 1891, 18th Febr.; 1875, 17th March; 1879, 7th Febr.—Sacred / to the memory of / ALEXANDER STEWART, / died February 18th, 1891, / aged 58 years and 7 months. / Deeply regretted. / A warmer heart ne'er made cold. /

Also to the memory of / MALCOLM, / who died March 17th, 1875, / aged 7 months. /

And / NORMAN / died February 7th, 1879, / aged 17 months and 11 days. / Sons of *Alexander & Mary Stewart*. / Suffer little children to come unto me. / (*Calcutta, P. Swaries & Co., Scts.*) /

59. 1893, 16th Jan.—GENERAL GEORGE BYERS MAINWARING / 60 Grenadiers. / Born 18th July 1824 / died 16th January 1893. / (*P. Swaries & Co., Scts., Calcutta.*) /

Compared with C. R. Wilson, who reads George Payes Mainwaring.

60. 1910, 23rd April.—In / memory / of / my dear mother / Mrs. J. MAUGHER. / Died April 23rd, 1910, / aged 76 years. / "Peace, perfect Peace." / (*P. Swaries & Co., Calcutta.*) /

61. (Undated.)—GEOFFREY BEAUFORT BISS. / Looking for the glorious / appearing of the Great God / and our Saviour Jesus Christ. /

Along the path.

62. (Undated.)—Sacred / to the memory of / ... ro... / infant son of / *Elizabeth Brown.* /

*Alphabetical list of all the names in the Danish Cemetery.*

[*N. B.*—The death is not recorded in the case of names without indication of date.]

	Date of death.	No. of inscription.
B. M. W., <i>née</i> Rabeholm	...	23
Bailey, Amelia, <i>Mrs.</i>	... 1862	46
Baker, Charlotte Caroline	... 1835	30
Baldwin, William	... 1825	22
———, W. J.	...	22
Basset, T. T., <i>Colonel</i>	...	9
———, William	... 1808	9
Beddy, H. W. <i>Mr. &amp; Mrs.</i>	...	38
———, John Forsyth	... 1856	38
Bie, Christian	... 1802	5
———, Olaf	... 1805	6
Biss, Geoffrey Beaufort	No date.	61
Bradley (Boadley ?), C.	... 1860	45
Bright, Eleanor Georgiana, <i>Mrs.</i>	... 1852	35
———, George	...	35
Brown, Elizabeth, <i>Mrs.</i>	...	62
———, Infant son of the above	No date.	62
Brown Fjellerup, Angelica Wilhelmine...	1817	14
———, Charles	... 1817	14
Buckland, Hannah, <i>Miss</i>	... 1822	19
Casabon, James	... 1868	51
Chambers, J.	...	7
Corson, John Maclachlan	... 1821	18
Costa, Macd. (Magdalen ?), de	... 1804	7
Crofton, Robert,	... 1871	54
Dent, Amelia, <i>Mrs.</i>	... 1841	33
Draper, Catherine, <i>Mrs.</i>	... 1833	28
Driver, John H.	... 1857	39
Duntzfeldt, Anna Abigael, <i>Mme.</i>	... 1781	1
———, C. W.	...	1
Eagle, Major Anne, <i>Mrs.</i>	... 1824	21
From, Christian Wilhelm	... 1806(1805 ?)	8
Gibson, J.	... 1865	49
Glassup, Richard	... 1873	56
———, <i>Mrs.</i>	...	56
———, Emma	... 1875	56

	Date of death.	No. of inscription.
Glassup, R., <i>Mr. &amp; Mrs.</i>	... ..	44
———, William Charles	... 1862	44
Gray, Samuel	... 1820	17
Harris, Horace Michael	... 187(9?)	55
———, J. S. (?) L.	... ..	55
Heather, Margaret, <i>Mrs.</i>	... 1834	29
Henderson, Henry	... 1839	32
Herrold, John Gotlieb	... 1866	50
Hohlenberg, I. S.	... 1833	27
Jarlsbergh, Johan Wesel	... 1820	16
Joseph, Charles	... 1859	44
Krefting, Jacob	... 1828	24
Leisner, Martin Friderik	... 1880	10
Lutz, Mary Eleanor, <i>Mrs.</i>	... 1889	57
Mc Harg (Mc Haig?), James	... 1845	34
McLachlan, James	... 1820	15
———, Corson, John	... 1821	18
Mainwaring, George Byers, <i>General</i>	... 1893	59
Maugher, J. H., <i>Mrs.</i>	... 1910	60
Miranda, Charlotte	... 1801	43
Muller, Erik Kjoer	... 1824	20
Muus, Ove ?	... 1831	26
Pringle, Caroline Henrietta, <i>Mrs.</i>	... 1858	43
———, Ellen Mary	... 1857	40
———, W. H.	... ..	43
Rabeholm, M. C., <i>Mrs.</i>	... 1827	23
———, M. W. B., <i>Mrs. née.</i>	... ..	23
Rodgers, Cecil Alfred	... 1863	47
———, Gilbert	... ..	47
———, Agnes, <i>Mrs.</i>	... ..	47
Schwartz (the missionary)	... ..	6
Scott, John	... 1868	52
Smith, Frederic Carl,	... 1812	11
Stewart, Alexander	... 1891	58
———, Malcolm	... 1875	58
———, Norman	... 1879	58
———, Mary, <i>Mrs.</i>	... ..	58
Stewart, J.	... 1790	2
———, Robert	... ..	2



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	Date of death.	No. of inscription.
Swaries, P.	...	42
——, Thomas	... 1858	42
Tarleton, Charlotte Sophia, <i>Miss</i>	... 1857	41
Top, Casper	... 1812	13
Toulmin, W. M.	... 1829	25
——— <i>Mrs.</i>	... ..	25
Wallich, Juliana Maria	... 1812	12
W(allich), N.	... ..	12
Wasmus, John Charles	... 1796	3
Weabens (Wealins ?), James	... 1853	37
Wilcox, M. E., <i>Mrs.</i>	... 1853	36
Wollen, William	... 1869	53
——, Ann Elizabeth, <i>Mrs.</i>	... 1895	53
Woollen, Charles Stewart,	... 1835	31
Woolley, William, <i>Dr.</i>	... 1863	48

*Sculptors.*

Funeral Furnishing Company, Serampur	...	51
Higgs & Hunter	... ..	21
Kyte (H.), Calcutta	... ..	18, 28
Lindeman (P.), Calcutta	... ..	19, 30, 47
Llewelyn (P.), Calcutta	... ..	32, 34, 54, 57
? Llewelyn & Sons, Serampur	... ..	46
Paul, Serampur	... ..	33
Paul & Son, Serampur	... ..	35, 39, 40, 41, 43, 44, 45
Simpson & Llewelyn, Calcutta	... ..	12, 13, 17
Simpson & Co., Calcutta	... ..	29
Swaries (P.) & Co., Calcutta	... ..	6, 42, 53, 58, 59, 60

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[THE END.]

# Madame Grand.

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THE following quotation is on the perennially interesting subject of Madame Grand. I came across it in the letters of a lady who was visiting Paris in 1814 and 1815. The photograph, which forms the second item, is from a drawing in my possession. I picked it up in a curiosity shop, and an adaptation of it is being used as the frontispiece of my new book, "The Flag of the Adventurer." It was sold to me as a pencil drawing, but when it was cleaned, it turned out to be a reproduction of some sort. The small letters under the title—quite illegible in the photograph—are "T. Black, Asiatic Litho. Press, Calcutta."

It would be interesting to know whether tradition, or the papers of the time, preserve any recollection of this particular review. The splashing water, and the expression on the faces of the reviewees, suggest that Sir Charles Napier had refused to alter his arrangements on account of bad weather. He arrived at Calcutta 6th May, 1849, and left it on the 22nd to meet Lord Dalhousie at Simla, which narrows down the time to little over a fortnight. Whoever drew the original of the lithograph must have had a knack of catching likenesses and a keen sense of humour. It is possible that one of Lord Dalhousie is extant from the same hand, and if so, I should much like to to know of it.

SYDNEY C. GRIER.

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(*At the Duches of Wellington's Weekly Reception,  
Paris February, 1815.*)

"The Princesse de Talleyrand joined us; she has the remains of a *fair* beauty, with a very *weak* expression: the court of Napoleon had a contempt for her, and she has neither birth, wit, nor grace, to secure the smiles of the present *beau-monde* of France. 'How could Talleyrand marry her,' is the often repeated query.\* But do we not see the most distinguished men frequently choose the most insipid women, as children use a toy in their hours of relaxation from severe studies and higher thoughts, which they throw aside at will? and so Talleyrand has done. As the choice of that genius of policy, who possesses such a potent influence over the affairs of Europe, she excited the attention of the passing hour. Her dress was singular; a scarlet Cachemire pelisse, secured up the front with a profusion of gold card, tassels and buttons, and a gold tissue turban."

From "The Private Correspondence of a Woman of Fashion."

(BY HARRIET PIGOTT.)

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\* Madame Grandt, of Hamburgh.

# An Unpublished Letter of Sir Philip Francis.

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**M**R. A. L. Cotton, of The Barn, Ripley, Surrey, sends us a copy of an interesting and hitherto unpublished autograph letter of Sir Philip Francis which has lately come into his possession. It is addressed to Sir Robert Chambers from Injellee Creek on December 8, 1780 and appears to be one of the last letters, if not actually the last, written by Francis in India. The notes have been added by Mr. H. E. A. Cotton who has examined the log of the *Fox* which is preserved at the India Office.

The document forms part of a collection of the papers of Sir Robert Chambers, of which particulars are given in the catalogue (No. 435, September 1922, pp. 29, 30) of Mr. Francis Edwards, bookseller, of 83 High Street, Marylebone London, W. I. The collection includes another letter from Francis to Chambers, (3 pp. 4to, dated July 13, 1779, and initialled by the writer) in which the following suggestive passage occurs :—

I may add to *yourself* that the whole arrangement was determined for Bengal : that H[astings] and B[arwell] will be left out and that I shall be G. G.—probably with a title.

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Autograph letter, signed, from Sir Philip Francis : 4 pp. 4to.  
Cover Sealed with Francis' signet ring crest and addressed :  
TO THE HON'BLE SIR ROBERT CHAMBERS, etc., etc., Calcutta.

P. F.

Endorsed [by Chambers.]

Mr. Francis,  
Lat. Injellee Creek,  
8 Decr. 1780.

Injellee Creek, 8 December 1780,

*Friday night.*

DEAR SIR,

I received your letter of the 6th a few hours ago. The two inclosed in it, with that to Mr. Wilton, shall be delivered in person as soon after my arrival in London as possible. I think I have told you exactly what I intend

to say and do in your behalf. Rely upon it, I will not do less and if circumstances permit, I will do more. Of the effect of any efforts of mine to serve you, you can judge as well as I can. I do not expect as much from them as you do. You shall have the best and earliest account of the matter that I can give you. If all fails, you will gain something by knowing at last what you have to trust to, and I hope you will lose nothing by my opinion, delivered, as I shall deliver it, of your character and qualifications. If Mr. Barwell should have any interest to spare from his own immediate defence, I imagine it will be employed and pushed as far as it will go, in favour of Sir Elijah Impey: but this, I believe, is not a favourite object with Mr. Hastings, whatever he may say or pretend to the contrary, unless he purposes to quit the Government. I cannot think that he would like to have Sir Elijah in the Council with [him]. If this plan succeeds, you are of course defeated, for assuredly they will not put two of the judges into the Council. But then you may be Chief Justice, if the Court be continued on its present establishment. If not, look homewards, and try what can be done for a seat in Westminster Hall. I think I shall soon discover whether these gentlemen are in earnest or not, and how far my Lord North may be disposed to your service. At all events I will not mislead you if I can help it. Whether my letters to you be long or short, they shall contain everything that I think material for your information. As to my returning to India, I would wish you to consider it as wholly out of the question. Reason and act in everything as if the contrary were certain.

I went on board the *Fox* at the Baribulla on Wednesday morning; but finding the Captain unprepared to receive me, returned immediately to this place and have been loitering here ever since. To-morrow morning we mean to embark for good; but great complaints are made of the confusion on board the *Walpole*. They tell me she will not be ready to sail for several days. Mr. Lloyd assured me yesterday that he should this morning protest against the Captain. You never beheld such a scene of uproar and anarchy.

Poor Colonel Upton, I fear, will not live many hours longer. Farewel, my dear friend. May honour and happiness be your lot. If I can contribute to it, I will. Let me know when you send my Godson to England that I may look after him.

· Your most faithfully yours,  
P. FRANCIS.

TO THE HON'BLE SIR ROBERT CHAMBERS.

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## NOTES.

1. Ingelie—so called by Alex. Hamilton. The Hidgley of Job Charnock, and modern Hijli at the mouth of the Rasulpur river: is still shown on the Survey maps, but according to the *Gazetteer of India* has been washed away.

2. Mr. Wilton.—The reference is to Joseph Wiltou, R. A. (1722—1803), the Sculptor, who was the father of Lady Chambers (the "pretty Miss Wilton" of Johnson's letter to Boswell of March 5, 1774). He became Keeper of the Royal Academy in 1791 on the death of Agostino Carlini, R. A. Lady Chambers who died at Brighton in 1839, wrote a memoir of her husband which was prefixed to a privately-printed catalogue (1838) of the Sanskrit Mss. collected by him during his residence in Calcutta.

3. The Baribulla.—There is no doubt as to the identity of "the Baribulla" or "Barrabulla" though it is not marked in the modern Survey Map. The Barratulla is quite distinct. This is the name given in Rennell's map of the Sunderbunds to the khal [Central Channel] flowing well to the East of Saugor Island.

John Ritchie's map of 1770 places the Barrabulla Sands in lat. 21' 40" between Saugor Island and the Western shore. The lower buoy shows  $5\frac{1}{2}$  fathoms and the upper buoy  $4\frac{1}{2}$  fathoms. The "Fairway" lay between the Barabulla and the Long Sands: and the buoys were to the East of the Barabulla.

The Barrabulla Sands, and Barrabulla Head are also shown in John Thornton's chart of the Bay of Bengal (1675 edition of the English Pilot: See map at end of Vol. 3 of Yule's edition for Hakluyt Society of Hedges' Diary). On the opposite [W.] shore below "Kidgelie" (Hidgelie, Ingelie) are shown the "Kittesol or Barrabulla Trees" (in 1701 edition of the chart, *Parrasoll*.)

In the List of Marine Records of the East India Company (published by the India Office in 1896) the Entry relating to the *Fox* (John Blackburn Master) shows that the log was commenced on August 23, 1778 "to Madras, Kedgerree, and Barrabulla" and ended on Oct. 21, 1781, on return home [arrived in Dover Road 5-30 P.M., Friday Oct. 19, 1781.]

Extracts are subjoined from the log [No. 4564].

*Wednesday 6th*—[Dec. 1780.—At the Barrabulla]; Received on board 4 packets for Europe. Came on board Phillip Francis, Esq., and Richard Tilghman, Esq., passengers for Europe. Saluted the former with 17 guns. Got up top gallant masts and yards. Sent the long boat to Ingelie.

*Monday 11th*.—At noon unmoored, at 9 P.M. weighed and dropped about 2 miles further and came too again.

*Tuesday 12th*.—At  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 9 A. M. weighed and made sail and at noon came too with the best bower in  $\frac{1}{4}$  4 fa.: Upper bouy of the Barrabulla N. N. W.

*Wednesday 13th*.—At  $\frac{1}{2}$  past [blank] weighed and made sail but falling little wind came too again. At  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 3 weighed and dropped further down and came too again in  $4\frac{1}{2}$  fathoms: at low water. Upper bouy of the Barrabulla N. by W.



*Sir Charles reviewing the brigade at Barrackpore. May 1849*



*Thursday 14th* :—At 5 A. M. weighed with moderate breeze and made sail. At 8 do. was abreast of lower bouy of the Barrabulla and at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 11 was abreast of the Bouy of the Fairway and at 2 P. M. passed the Bouy of the French Flatt and at 4 P. M. came too with the best bower in  $\frac{1}{2}$  5 fathoms at low water. about the middle of the South Channel waiting for the other ships.

*Friday 15th* :—At 8 A. M. weighed and made sail with a light breeze in company with the *Walpole* which acts as commodore, *Duke of Grafton*, and *True Briton*. Sounded from 6 to 8 P. M.

The following further extracts from the log of the *Fox* are concerned with the outward voyage and the early preparations for departure from Kedgerie.

*Saturday 11th, March, 1780*.—At  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 10 A.M. passed lower bouy of the Barabulla. At 1 P.M. passed the upper bouy of the Barrabulla and at 2 do. came too in  $5\frac{1}{4}$  fathoms water near the broken ground. Hauled the cutter out and sent her to Ingelie with the Hon'ble Company's despatches.

[Then moored off Kedgerie and remained there until].

*6th Oct.*—[1780]: Mr. Cressy pilot came to take charge of the ship.

*7th Oct.*—Weighed.

*29th Oct.*—"Towards the Barrabulla."

*11th Nov.*—Moored off Upper bouy of the Barrabulla.

*15th Nov.*—"At the Barrabulla."











